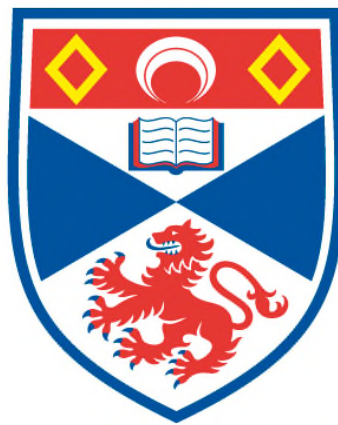


# **THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF ROBERT OWEN**

**Archibald Muir Black**

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews**



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"THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF ROBERT OWEN."

Thesis presented for the Degree

of Doctor of Philosophy

at St. Andrews University.

By

ARCHIBALD MUIR BLACK, M.A., LL.B., Ed.B.





15951





It is hereby declared that this Thesis has been composed by myself ; that the work of which it is a record has been done by myself ; and that it has not been accepted in any previous application for a Higher Degree .

Higher study was undertaken on 'The Educational Work of Robert Owen' , this entailing a study of his Life and Writings and of contemporary literature on education, mainly of the period 1790-1830 , together with an attempt to assess the value of his contribution , both practical and theoretical, to education .

Date of my admission as Research Student -- 1938.

Terms of study -- 12.

I certify that Archibald M. Black,  
M.A., LL.B., Ed.B., research student,  
in presenting his thesis on the  
'Educational Work of Robert Owen',  
has completed twelve terms of  
study, and that the conditions  
of the Ordinance and Regulations  
have been duly fulfilled.

Research Supervisor.

The University  
St. Andrews

7<sup>th</sup> April 1949.



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centralisation, and from the absence of a central controlling authority it is difficult to obtain even rough statistical data of the period. As we proceed, the diversity of the sources with their various degrees of reliability, and the looseness of a quantitative account of education will become clear. (Cf. Hall - 'National Ed.', 1836, <sup>page 1,</sup> on neglect of statistics.)

How far Owen was acquainted with the literature of <sup>xl'</sup> education before his New Lanark venture will be dealt with later.

Elementary education in England and Wales had depended mainly on private enterprise and charity. There were private fee-paying schools, run, of course, for profit, some as dame-schools for young children, teaching the 3 R's, others teaching additional subjects for additional fees; others meeting in the evening and instructing boys and men who had been in the fields all day. (cf. G.H. Abraham - "Juvenile Essays" (1805), giving a "Brief History of Education and a Table of the System"). Free education, on the other hand, was provided for children of the poor by schools of industry, evening schools, workhouse schools, hospital schools, Sunday schools, circulating schools, etc. In a few cases the endowed grammar schools here and there offered secondary education to poor boys of ability, but as a rule these were not open to the masses (cf. Archer - "Secondary Education in Nineteenth Century" p.p.12-30.) The general view was that each had his station in life more or less fixed and there was little encouragement for the poor to rise above their poverty. (cf. Rousseau - Emile, Book I., "The poor man has no need of education .... .."). \*\*

xl' - Cf. N.M.W. II 29: "Upon education... much, through past ages.... has been said, written and published" - - but he mentions no names. \*\* Cf. Trimmer - "Doctrines of Charity" (1787) p.3, p.24, 37, p.60, etc., Quoted in App. See Note 7.



from men inspired with broad religious ideals of charity. The movement took shape in three phases:

(1) The phase represented by The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which, founded by Thos. Bray in 1698, in the first part of the eighteenth century did untold good in checking the worst evils of poverty. (cf. Sir Thos. Bernard - "A Digest of Reports of Society for Bettering the Condition of The Poor (Education), 1809; Kirkman Gray - "History of English Philanthropy; Allen and McClure - "Account of Charity Schools: Two Hundred Years: A History of Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.)

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge aimed at founding catechetical schools, to educate poor children in the principles of the Establish Church, distributing Bibles and religious books, in some cases boarding the children, feeding, clothing, educating them until they were old enough to be apprenticed or sent out to domestic service, in other cases offering instructing in reading, writing, and some form of manual work, and providing one meal free per day. There was great local variation. All the S.P.C.K. schools were maintained by voluntary subscription. By 1734 there were about 1,400 such schools, educating 24,000 children.\* The S.P.C.K. reached its peak about 1750 when it was educating about 30,000 children, but it seems gradually to have declined in vigour after that time, so that by 1800 many of its schools had disappeared, while others had only a few scholars where before there had been many (cf. Bernard. Op. Cit. p.98-99). After the National Society was formed, the S.P.C.K. handed over the care of the

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\* Cf. Allen and McClure, Op. cit.



(2) Welsh Circulating Schools Movement, an offshoot of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to establish catechetical schools, mainly for adults. The Rev. Griffith Jones (d.1761) who opened the movement, impressed by the incompetence of the Charity Schools, received much help from philanthropists and from the S.P.C.K., in his plan to establish schools all over England and Wales. (Cf. Jones - "Welsh Piety" 1738) where he says that all the children could do after three, four or five years at Charity Schools, was "to read very badly some early parts of the Bible without knowing the Welsh of it, or the meaning of what they said when they repeated the catechism...." These schools were run generally by travelling schoolmasters who would live in a village for three or more months, teaching both during the day and in the evening the poor to read the Bible, and instructing them in the principles of religion. By 1761 about 150,000 scholars were being taught during the day, in over 3,000 such schools, and under Madame Bevan their numbers were almost doubled by 1777.

(Cf. "Welsh Piety" : Various volumes by G. Jones;

David Jones - "Welsh Piety or Life and Times of  
Griffith Jones."

Archer - "Secondary Education in Nineteenth Century,  
Ch. XI. )

They were extremely popular with the Welsh and despite much abuse of trust funds which reduced their numbers considerably, they survived into the Nineteenth Century in the form of the Welsh Sunday Schools. (Cf. D.Evans. "Sunday Schools of Wales." )



Robert Raikes, along with the Rev. Mr. Stocks of the same town. Various magazines, e.g. "Gentlemen's Magazine," adopted the movement and in a very large number of towns and villages Sunday Schools sprang up. (Cf. A. Gregory - Robert Raikes: A History of Origin of Sunday Schools." ; G.H. Harris - "Robert Raikes : The Man and his Work"; Kirkman Gray - "History of English Philanthropy." )

By 1801 in London alone there were 1,516 Sunday Schools, teaching 156,490 children.\* The real mainspring of the movement was the wider and deeper religious inspiration of the two Wesleys and George Whitefield, in England,<sup>†</sup> and of Howell Harris, Daniel Rowlands, and others, in Wales. This religious revival was accompanied by a renewal of interest in popular education which expressed itself in the work of Henry Venn, William Wilberforce, Hannah More, and many others.

In the Appendix to this Chapter some quotations are given showing the attitude of the originators of the movement, its influence, and the enthusiasm of many of the Sunday School teachers, who, paid at first, were later all voluntary workers. - (See appendix to Chapter II.)

A popular education movement was stimulated also by two other factors:

(1) The influence of the French Revolution and the new school of thought that went with it, the essence of which was an attack on strongholds of social privilege, and a vindication of popular rights. In education this was to mean in France the withdrawal of Church control and the establishment of a State system of education. How French revolutionaries regarded the educational situation which had arisen and the

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\* Cf. Gregory - "Robert Raikes."

† Cf. Trevelyan - 'Brit. Hist. in 19th Century', p. 160 (Note 9)



"I do not presume to exclude ecclesiastics, but I protest against the exclusion of laymen. I dare claim for the nation an education which depends only on the State, because it belongs essentially to the State; because every State has an inalienable and indefeasable right to instruct its members; because, finally, the children of the State ought to be educated by members of the State."

"It is certain that in the education which was given at Sparta, the prime purpose was to train Spartans. It is thus that in every State the purpose should be to enkindle the spirit of citizenship; and, in our case, to train Frenchmen, and in order to make Frenchmen, to labour to make men of them." \*

In the 1790's there was much revolutionary propaganda from France and repressive measures were taken by Parliament, e.g., 1800 Combination Act, which made illegal any association like a Trade Union. (This Act was repealed through philosophical radicals like Place and Hume, in 1824, but in 1825 all combinations of the kind, save those for regulating hours and wages, were made illegal by another Act. The picture of repression, harsh penalties, (e.g. in 1805, 68 persons were executed for murder, burglary, forgery, larceny) is relieved, however, by, e.g. an account of the happiness of Lancashire operatives on holiday in Samuel Bamford's "Early Days and Passages in the Life of a Radical." : they

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\* Cf. also "Decree concerning the Organization of Public instruction, Oct. 25th, 1795", also quoted by Compayre, showing the contemporary French view of the importance of state supervision of education.

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\*\* Cf. Webb - "History of Trade Unions."

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\*\*\* In 1832 the death penalty was abolished for forgery, sacrilege, horse or sheep-stealing.

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words, ("Eng. Util." I.112) "There is probably no period in English history at which a greater number of poor men have risen to distinction," and he instances Burns, Paine, Cobbett, Gifford, John Dalton, Parson, Jos. White, Owen, Lancaster, Watt, Telford and Ronnie.

English reaction to the French Revolution generally took one of two forms:

(a) Many in the upper and middle classes, seeing the excesses of the French demagogues, were confirmed in their attitude of opposition to popular education, as one more instrument capable of spreading social disaffection.

Cf. "Remarks on The Poor Bill" by one of H.M.'s Justices of the Peace in the County of Lincoln, 1807. - "It is doubtless desirable that the poor should be generally instructed in reading, if it were only for the best of purposes - that they may read the Scriptures. As to writing and arithmetic, it may be apprehended that such a degree of knowledge would produce in them a disrelish for the laborious occupations of life;" and "Anti-Jacobin," Oct, 1800, "A vast number of those who had been brought up at Sunday schools were wandering from their proper callings, had become fanatical teachers, had deemed themselves qualified to hold disputations on religious topics, had turned sceptics, infidels and anarchists, and were spreading a malignant influence throughout the mass of the community."

This view is mentioned also in Pole's "History of Adult Schools" (1814) p.47 - "An argument has been used, in less enlightened periods than the present, which is not yet removed from the lips of some from whom we might reasonably have expected a greater degree of penetration - - that the system of education so extensively diffusing among the poor of the



servants to fill the menial, domestic and commercial employments....."

We may compare with this Owen's statement ("Autobiog. Ia. 229) : "The privileged classes of the present day throughout Europe are not influenced so much by a desire to keep you down, as by an anxiety to retain the means of securing to themselves a comfortable and respectable enjoyment of life. Let them  
\* Note 2  
distinctly perceive that the ameliorations which you are about to experience are not intended or calculated to inflict any real injury on them or their posterity; but, on the contrary, that the same measures which will improve you must, as they assuredly will, essentially benefit them, and raise them in the scale of happiness and intellectual enjoyment, and you will speedily have their co-operation to carry the contemplated arrangement into effect."

(b) Another section believed that spreading the benefits of popular education would be the surest way of counteracting revolutionary propaganda. \*\*

The nett result was a compromise between the two sections of opinion - a compromise which while it tended to foster some social evils, gave wide freedom for experiment in education, and for this reason English education became a record of the national character in every phase of its growth; e.g. while in the early part of the eighteenth century philanthropic enterprise had reflected the business methods of the period, in the early nineteenth century child-labour and labour-saving machinery in Lancaster's plan and in the monitorial system won wide public favour with its promise of speedy returns for the investment. Thus Ure - "Philosophy of Manufactures," (p.408)

\*\* Cf. Wilderspin - 'System', p.101 (quoted in Note 10).



render permanent an establishment meant to train up the children of this town in knowledge and virtue. We expect thousands of children will here be taught not only the grounds of human science, but the first principles of Christian religion....."

The matter was the more urgent now that agriculture was giving way to larger groupings of men in factories where discussion was inevitable.

Apart from the two sections (a) and (b) above there were men who were led to see the need for popular education from broader principles and a deeper social philosophy - men like Adam Smith, Malthus, Paine and Godwin. With their works and opinions we may reasonably assume Owen to have been to some extent acquainted, if not by reading, at least by hearsay.

Adam Smith in the "Wealth of Nations" (1776) V.Ch.I, Part 3, Article 11, stated his grounds for believing in a state system of education in a locus classicus.

"Though the state was to derive no advantage from the instruction of the inferior ranks of people, it would still deserve its attention that they should not be altogether uninstructed. The state, however, derives no inconsiderable advantage from their instruction. The more they are instructed, the less liable they are to the delusions of enthusiasm and superstition, which, among ignorant nations, frequently occasion the most dreadful disorders. An instructed and intelligent people besides are always more decent and orderly than an ignorant and stupid one. They feel themselves, each individually more respectable and more likely to obtain the respect of their lawful superiors, and they are therefore more disposed to respect those superiors. They are more disposed to examine, and more

Note 8 : Cf. Maurice - 'Has the Church, or the State the Power to Educate the Nation?', 1839.



the measures of government. In free countries, where the safety of government depends very much upon the favourable judgment which the people may form of its conduct, it must surely be of the highest importance that they should not be disposed to judge rashly or capriciously concerning it."

T.R. Malthus, also, from a different point of view, wishes state intervention in education: "We have lavished immense sums on the poor, which we have every reason to think have constantly tended to aggravate their misery. But in their education and in the circulation of those important political truths that most nearly concern them, which are perhaps the only means in our power of really raising their condition, and of making them happier men and more peaceable subjects, we have been miserably deficient. It is surely a great national disgrace that the education of the lower classes of people in England should be left merely to a few Sunday schools, supported by a subscription from individuals, who can give to the course of instruction in them any kind of bias which they please. And even the improvement of Sunday Schools (for, objectionable as they are in some points of view, and imperfect in all, I cannot but consider as an improvement), is of very late date.

..... I would ask whether the advantage of superior instruction which the lower classes of people in Scotland are known to possess, has appeared to have any tendency toward creating a spirit of tumult and discontent amongst them ..... The quiet and peaceable habits of the instructed Scotch peasant, compared with the turbulent disposition of the ignorant Irishman, ought not to be without effect upon every impartial reasoner.

The principal argument which I have heard advanced against



government. But on this subject I agree most cordially with Adam Smith in thinking, that an instructed and well-informed people would be much less likely to be led away by inflammatory writings, and much better able to detect the false declamation of interested and ambitious demagogues, than ignorant people.....

But in addition to this, a double weight would undoubtedly be added to the observation of Adam Smith, if these schools were made the means of instructing the people in the real nature of their situation; if they were taught, what is really true, that without an increase of their own industry and prudence, no change of government could essentially better their condition; that, though they might get rid of some particular grievance, yet in the great point of supporting their families, they would be but little, or perhaps not at all, benefited; that a revolution would not alter in their favour the proportion of the supply of labour to the demand, or the quantity of food to the number of the consumers; and that if the supply of labour were greater than the demand, and the demand for food greater than the supply, they might suffer the utmost severity of want, under the free-est, the most perfect, and best executed government, that the human imagination could conceive.

A knowledge of these truths so obviously tends to promote peace and quietness, to weaken the effects of inflammatory writings, and to prevent all unreasonable and ill-directed opposition to the constituted authorities, that those who would still object to the instruction of the people may be fairly suspected of a wish to encourage their ignorance, as a pretext for tyranny, and an opportunity of increasing the power and the influence of the executive government." (Essay on the Principles of Population" - 6th. ed. 1890, B.K.IV.Ch.IX.)



grant of £4. per annum for each child to the poor to enable their parents to send them to school. Every child must be instructed. Here we must note the characteristic difference in attitude to state education between the French revolutionary party and such robust English individualists as Paine. The former would have accepted Aristotle's views on state education - ("Politics" V., Welldon's Trans., P.222.) \*

Paine, on the other hand, agrees that "a nation under a well-regulated government should permit none to remain uninstructed ("Rights of Man" P.241), although it should not be by the State but by the parents that children should be educated.

We find the same view in Joseph Priestly and later in William Godwin's "Enquiry Concerning Political Justice" (1793) - "The project of national education ought uniformly to be discouraged on account of its obvious alliance with national government." In this Godwin is <sup>a</sup>typical Liberal of his time: State interference in education would lead to over-conservatism, to complacency with existing society, to intellectual uniformity or mediocrity. \*\*

The fears of these Radicals about State-controlled education were justified by a pronouncement like that of John Bowles in "A Letter Addressed to Samuel Whitbread." (1807):

"With regard even to the very few who feel any concern upon this subject (religious education) and who wish their

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\* See Note 3. Aristotle's view is accepted later by Macaulay in a passage quoted in this note.

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\*\* For still another view see Mary Wollstonecraft in "A Vindication of the Rights of Women." (1792), which favours State-controlled education and co-education.



the system of religious education which is adopted in the school where that advantage is bestowed."

And again,

"I trust, Sir, that effectual means will now be taken to secure the full operation of the principle.... that when education is made a national concern, youth must be brought up as members of the national church."

There is ample evidence that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, while there was much doubt as to the form a popular educational system should take, there was none as to its need.\* A veritable mine of contemporary educational information, so far meagrely tapped, is the "Report of The Select Committee of The House of Commons on The Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis," (1816). No apology is therefore necessary for quoting extracts from it at some length, showing the felt need, the limited opportunities and the widespread desire for education, and on the other hand the obstacles in the way, e.g. the general, wretched living conditions.

The Report is in the general form of question (Q) and answer (A) by witnesses. There is sometimes a slight conflict in the evidence, but the general picture is made extremely clear.

Q. (Page 1). "In what state are those children (in St. Giles' district of London) as to education?"

A. "Entirely ignorant and destitute of any information whatever, unless those that are in school at present."

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\* Note 4.: Cf. Newnham - "Principles of Education" (1827) I.p.V., and Rousseau - "Minor Educational Works" (Boyd)p.45: "a public education according to regulations prescribed by government, and under magistrates appointed by the supreme authority is one of the fundamental requirements of popular government."



children witness the scenes of riot and sanguinary conflict that happen among the parents in the streets."

Q. "Is the whole Sunday spent in those public houses?"

A. "Entirely so; while they have a farthing left of their week's wages, they spend it in those public houses, and the children are left to the parish, during the rest of the week."

Q. (P.8) "Were those (families) of the lowest order, generally speaking, uneducated altogether?"

A. "The greater part of them, where there were three or four in a family; one or two of them perhaps could read a little, others not at all; and many had not the means of procuring education."

Q. "Did they seem anxious for it generally?"

A. "Extremely so; the general inquiry was what time they might expect to get their children to school."

Q. (P.10.) "Are there a number of children in the parish destitute of the means of education?"

A. "A great many."

Q. "How do the children in St. Giles spend their Sundays?"

A. "A great many in playing in the streets."

Q. "Does it fall within your knowledge that a great number of children are gambling and behaving in a very riotous manner in the fields on a Sunday afternoon, in the neighbourhood of that parish?"

A. "I have seen a great many."

"..... we have them (poor children) come into the workhouse naked, or nearly so."



A. "Too many would."

Q. (P.12.) "From all that you have stated, do you apprehend that there is a great want of the means of education in your district?"

A. "I think there is; there are as many uneducated as educated; there is a great deal of poverty and distress among those persons now; want of clothing is a very serious objection to their sending their children to school."

Q. "Did they [parents] appear to regret the state of ignorance in which they were?"

A. "Many of them did very much. Of the schools which I have mentioned, six have been established within these twelve years."

A. (P.36). "Wretchedness and filth were in the extreme, in many places, they had nothing to lie upon; and a great number of them subsisted by making clothes for the soldiers; many, who after they had been employed for a whole day about a coat, got fivepence for it; their husbands were gone for soldiers; and that was the only employ they had to subsist themselves and family upon. They were all exceedingly anxious to have their children instructed, and seemed to be highly gratified in being informed that it was likely their wishes would be complied with."

Q. (P.37.) "Were they closely packed?"

A. "Exceedingly so; in every room of the house was a different tenant, from the ground floor up to the garret."

Q. (P.37.) "Were they (certain streets) in a state of great filth?"



should have received subscriptions from them if they had been able, but they were totally unable to contribute anything; the amount of subscriptions we received from the decent inhabitants was £6. 6. 0.

A. (P.40). "We were received with great civility; our enquiries readily answered. The men were generally absent, being labourers, and many of the women, (particularly widows) occupied in making soldiers' clothing, for which they stated being paid fivepence for a pair of trousers, they finding the thread. The very great majority of children were ignorant and without the means of education; but it would be doing the parents great injustice were I to omit stating that they seemed anxiously desirous that their children should receive this blessing."

A. (P.42.) ".....the cellars are filled with human beings existing in a state of peculiar wretchedness..."

A. (P.41.) (Of witness who, in his district, out of 679 children, had found only 150 of them educated to any extent):

"...In the course of my visits I witnessed great misery; wretchedness which appeared to me to be very permanent, since though I met with but one person in a fever, but one child in the small pox, but one woman lying in, one child blind, and one deaf and dumb; yet the unhealthy appearance of the majority of the children was too apparent. It would seem that they came into the world to exist during a few years in a state of torture, since by no other name can I call sickness, and dirt and ignorance."



instances this is the case, but I hope not in all."

A.(P.122.) ".....From what I have seen (of district of Spitalfields) it appeared that a great proportion of the parents were totally unable to read; and I beg to state that in some cases there was clear evidence of persons dying through scanty and insufficient food, which brought on incurable maladies.\* The following is the general result of the investigation above alluded to:-

	No. of Families.	No. of Adults.	Cannot read.	No. of children.	How many can read.	Weavers, etc.	Church.	Dissenters.	No religious profession.	Catholics.	Without Bibles.	Much distressed from want of work.	More distressed.	Still more distressed.	In extreme distress
North West.	611	1083	457	1837	331	290	225	217	118	16	336	193	278	129	20
South West.	297	513	195	800	227	85	46	79	45	16	145	28	165	29	3
North East.	481	878	347	1547	406	324	197	165	92	1	183	127	169	56	8
South East.	115	208	70	340	121	24	55	31	24	1	29	3	28	2	0
<u>Totals:</u>	1504	2682	1069	4524	1085	723	623	492	279	34	693	351	640	216	31

\* cf. Trimmer - "Decomony of Charity" (1787), pp62-3 for a scene in a poor cottage.



the children of the poor are destitute of the means of education, and that a large proportion of them, through the neglect of society, are actually training in vice....."

The evidence of Rev. J. King of Bathmal Green (P.235) is specially interesting:

Q. "Is your workhouse crowded with juvenile objects?"

A. "Yes."

Q. "Do they receive any education in the workhouse?"

A. "They are taught to read, but their education is very badly attended to."

Q. "Is there a regular school-master?"

A. "There is a pauper in the House who is called a school-master."

Q. "Is particular attention paid to the morals of these juvenile objects in the workhouse, by the matron or other person?"

A. "I have not an opportunity for forming an opinion, for by the time they are capable of perpetrating crimes, they are sent down to the country to be employed in manufactures."

(On the evils of apprenticing pauper children, see "Report of Kneeler Hall Training School," by Rev.H. Mosely, Inspector for Committee of Council on Education (1851) (quoted in Note 5.)

To the above may be added two passages from Pole's "Observations on Infant Schools", (London, 1823), to the same effect:-

"In perambulating our villages, and more especially the



contamination and moral turpitude.....; the frightful forebodings of all that is destructive to good order in civil society, and the hope of happiness in the world to come? What person of serious reflection can behold these things without feeling a wish for the amelioration of their dreadful condition.?"

(Page 13.)

And :-

....."One man in Wentworth Street, near Spital Fields, had forty of these boys in training to steal and pick pockets, and who was paid by a part of their plunder. Happily this man was that winter (1819), convicted of theft and transported. This circumstance, with some others, led to the establishment of a Sunday School in that neighbourhood."

(Page 18.)

Lancaster in "Improvements in Education" (1806) gives some of the main evils in the education of the poor (p.p. 188-189.):-

- (1) "Improper and immoral persons having youth under their care."
- (2) "The poverty....(of teachers) and the consequent want of that respect from parents..."
- (3) "The uncertainty....(all) are under as to the character and abilities of the teacher they send their children to...."
- (4) "Bad accommodation...."
- (5) "The almost total want of system <sup>and</sup> of a proper stimulus to action in the minds of teachers and scholars..."
- (6) "The diversity of methods of teaching used in different schools which much retards the improvement of the scholars."

The effect of such evidence is cumulative, and prepares us for the anxiety shown by Owen and others to remedy a situation which was becoming well nigh intolerable.



Art. I. There shall be established in every canton of the republic one or more primary schools, whose territorial limits shall be determined by the departmental authorities....

The teachers of the primary schools shall be examined by one of the juries of instruction, and upon the presentation of the municipal authorities, shall be appointed by the departmental administration.....

They shall be dismissed only on the concurrence of the same authorities, at the proposal of a jury of instruction, and after having had a hearing.

In every primary school shall be taught reading, writing, cyphering, and the elements of Republican morals....

They shall receive from each pupil an annual fee, to be fixed by the departmental administration.....

The school fee may be remitted to one-fourth of the pupils of each school, on account of poverty.....

The regulations of the primary schools shall be decided by the departmental administration subject to the approbation of the Executive Directory....

The municipal authorities shall exercise direct supervision over the primary schools, and shall see to the execution of the laws and decrees of the higher administrations relating to the same....."

NOTE 2. Newnham - "Principles of ..Education" (1827) I.p.VI.

".... and that the universal diffusion of instruction will prove a blessing or a curse, according to the quality of the boon communicated, and in proportion as it may be calculated to fit or to unfit the individuals for the performance of the duties belonging to their respective class, and



"That the education of the young is a matter which has a paramount claim upon the attention of the legislator will not be disputed. The neglect of it in existing states is prejudicial to their politics. For the educational system..... must always be relative to the particular polity which is its habitual preservative, as it is in fact the original cause of its creation, e.g., a democratic character of a democracy, an oligarchie of an oligarchy and so on..... Again, as the end proposed to the State as a whole is one, it is clear that the education of all the citizens must be one and the same, and the superintendence of it a public affair rather than in private hands, as it now is, when each individual superintends his own children privately and with such private instruction as he thinks good..... And further it is not right to suppose that any citizen is his own master, but rather that all belong to the State; for each individual is a member of the State, and the superintendence of any part is naturally relative to that of the whole. This is one point in which the Lacedaemonians deserve praise; they devote a great deal of attention to the educational needs of their children and the attention takes the form of action on the part of the State."

NOTE 4. T.B. Macaulay - Address in House of Commons in 1847. Reported in Barnard's "National Education in Europe," p.747. (Hartford, 1854.)

"I hold it is the right and duty of the State to provide for the education of the common people. I conceive the arguments by which this position may be proved are perfectly simple, perfectly obvious, and the most cogent possible..... All are agreed that it is the sacred duty of every government to take



be denied that the education of the common people is the most effectual means of protecting persons and property? On that subject I cannot refer to higher authority, or use more strong terms, than have been employed by Adam Smith; but I take his authority the more readily, because he is not very friendly to State interference; and almost on the same page as that I refer to, he declares that the State ought not to meddle in the education of the higher orders; but he distinctly says that there is a difference, particularly in a highly civilized and commercial community, between the education of the higher classes and the education of the poor. The education of the poor he pronounces to be a matter in which government is most deeply concerned; and he compares ignorance, spread through the lower classes, neglected by the State, to a leprosy, or some other fearful disease, and says that where this duty is neglected, the State is in danger of falling into the terrible disorder....."

"..... It seems to me that no proposition can be more strange than this - - that the State ought to have power to punish, and is bound to punish its subjects, for not knowing what their duty is, but at the same time is to take no step to let them know what their duty is."

NOTE 5. Newnham - "Principles of Education" (1827) II. p.V.

"In the present age of education when the mind of almost every individual is more or less engaged upon this important subject....."

And:-

"That education must go forward is undisputable: that it has received a stimulus to activity which no human power can arrest is beyond a question; that some kind of instruction must



"The system of education under the old poor law was that of parish apprenticeship. Pauper children were bound apprentices to such persons as were supposed capable of instructing them in some useful calling. In some cases this was by compulsion, the apprentices being assigned to different rate-payers, who render themselves liable to fines if they refuse to receive them, which fines sometimes went to the rates, and in other cases were paid as premiums to persons who afterward took these apprentices. Another method was by premiums paid from the rates to masters, who, inconsideration of such premiums, were contented to take pauper children as apprentices.....

The evils of this system were manifold:-

..... As it regards the children themselves:-

1. They were often apprenticed to 'needy persons, to whom the premium offered was an irresistible temptation to apply for them,' and 'after a certain interval had been allowed to elapse, means were not infrequently taken to disgust them with their occupation, and to render their situations so irksome as to make them abscond.'

2. They were looked upon by such persons as 'defenseless, and deserted by their natural protectors,' and were often cruelly treated. So that 'to be treated worse than a parish apprentice' has passed into a proverb.

3. Not only was their moral culture neglected, but their moral well-being was often totally disregarded....

4. Their instruction in any useful calling was for the most part neglected, because their masters were often unfit to teach them, and because they were obstinately unwilling to learn. The position which the parish apprentice occupied in



providing some better form of education. Every workhouse was accordingly required to provide a schoolmaster who should educate the children. For which purpose they were to be completely separated from the adults, and instructed for at least three hours every day."

Note 7 : Hill - National Ed.' ,1836,p.10, on neglect of statistics even in his day : ' ..it must appear evident that the only existing reports that can be confided in are those of a particular and local nature , and in most of these even there must be many sources of error ' .

Note 8 : Maurice - Op.cit. p.132 : '... the old education of this country ... administered by the clergy, has for its object the cultivation of that essential humanity .. ; .. the modern continental education ... administered by the State , .... (leads to) .. the formation of a character entirely moral and secular ' .

Note 9 : Trevelyan - Op.cit. p.160 : 'Many of the more self-respecting of the new proletariat found in the Baptist or Wesleyan chapel the opportunity for the development of the talents and the gratification of instincts that were denied expression elsewhere' .

Note 10 : Wilderspin-'System', p.101 , quoting Bishop Bathurst : 'An uneducated , unemployed poor ... will at times prove restless , dissatisfied , perverse and seditious ; nor is this all , even their most useful and valuable qualities, for want of regular and good habits , and a proper bias and direction from early religious instruction , frequently becomes dangerous and hurtful to society' .



## CHAPTER II.

### THE CONTEMPORARY EDUCATIONAL SCENE.



taken as starting with the publication in 1797 of Dr. Andrew Bell's account of the Madras experiment, and ending with the first Parliamentary grant for education in 1833.

Any gains were made not by precise planning but by gradual evolution or expansion, by experiment, by opportunism, by compromise and concession, and as is to be expected, there was a lag between theory and practice. \*

It will be obvious that most of the 18th century movements continue into the 19th for a space; that the prevailing doctrine of laissez-faire still obtains and State action is, in many influential quarters, frowned upon; that, in consequence, remedies for social evils are left to be dealt with not by the State but by philanthropic individuals of whom there is no lack, e.g., in 1826 Wm. Allen bought an estate in Sussex and built cottages for his labourers, a school with an infants' department, an industrial day-school for boys and girls. (Cf. Allen - "Plan for Diminishing the Poor Rates" (1833) ) This was the period, too, of various rescue societies, most of them impelled by the hope of reducing crime and elevating the poor whose ignorance was a menace to society. \*\*\*

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\* Note 19(1): Cf. Fitch in "Education in 19th Century (1901) p.38: "The only provision other than that furnished by the Charity Schools which existed at the beginning of the present century, was that furnished by private enterprise," and Jas. Hill - "Encycl. Britannica (1818) p.11: "The theory of education has not kept pace with the progress of philosophy; and it is unhappily true that the practice remains to a prodigious distance behind the theory."

\*\*\* Note 19(2): On endowments, so typical of the 18th century, Cf. Bernard - "Digest of Reports of S.B.C.P." (1809) p.98, who quotes Lord Kenyon as writing in "The King and The Archbishop of York, Michaelmas, 1798" "In some instances that Archbishop lately come within my own knowledge, there was not a single scholar in the schools, though there were very large endowments to them."

\*\*\* Note 19(3): Cf. Report of Select Committee on Education of Lower Orders (1816), p.79: Q.A. and Lancaster - "Improvements in Education (1806) p.169 on pauper children. Q.A. Cf. Wilderspin - 'System', p.305. (quoted App. II. xv)



nam, where boys stayed about six months, then those who were suitable went to the Colonies to be apprenticed.

(Cf. Brenton - "The Bible and the Spade" (1837);

Fanny Forster : A Sequel" (1837); Hill - Op.cit. pp. 25-30. <sup>Notes (3)</sup>

Kay - Shuttleworth : "Four Periods of English Education";

"Social Conditions & Education of the People" (1850).

In London, City Missions started work about 1825. (See Knight's "Passages in a Working Life," III.86, where he tells of the formation by a manufacturer of a "Ministry for the Poor", which led to a Ragged School, a People's Instruction Society, a Sunday School, evening classes, etc.).

Also we may compare Langford's "Century of Birmingham Life," and Grellet's "Memoirs" II.83 and, for a Ragged School Union, C.J. Montague "Sixty Years in Walldom."

Above all the period is one of war with the peculiar  
\* creative urge induced at times by war, and of the aftermath of war, a period of hardship, distress and wide-spread heart-searching. There is much philanthropic endeavour to ease poverty, but there is, on the whole, a presumption of  
\* \* pre-ordained social strata and a fear of what may arise from changing the orders of society.

Thus M. Burgoyne in "Address to the Governors and Directors of Public Charity Schools" (1829) talks of the tendency "of the present system of popular education to unfit

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\* Note 20(1): "And even while the (Napoleonic) war was raging, her creative spirit, sheltered behind her fleet, blossomed as in the age of Elizabeth. The era of Nelson and Wellington, of Fox and Pitt, of Castlereagh and Canning, was also the era of Wordsworth and Coleridge, of Scott and Byron, of Shelley and Keats, of Turner and Constable, of Cobbett and Wilberforce, of Bentham and Owen, and many more. The men of that age seemed to inhale vigour with the island air...." (Trevelyan - "History of England." P.508.)

\* \* Note 20(2): Cf. Jas. Mill-1818 Encycl. Brit. p.29 Q.A. and his conclusion about the education of different classes (p.28) "It is only in respect to those qualities which are not desirable in all that a difference in the mode of training is required."



(1839) "to give such a character to the matter of instruction in the school as to keep it in close relation with the conditions of workmen and servants." \* A Member of Parliament of the time, <sup>ies</sup> David Giddy, has no fear in saying publicly (Hansard IX.798, July 1807): "However specious in theory the project might be of giving education to the labouring classes of the poor, it would be prejudicial to their morals and happiness; it would teach them to despise their lot in life, instead of making them good servants in agriculture and other laborious employments. Instead of teaching them subordination, it would render them fractious and refractory, as was evident in the manufacturing counties; it would enable them to read seditious pamphlets, vicious books and publications against Christianity; it would render them insolent to their superiors; and in a few years the legislature would find it necessary to direct the strong arm of power towards them."

If this era sees the rise of infants' schools, partly because so obviously "safe", of savings-banks, mechanics' institutes (not so "safe" \*\*), there are many misgivings and much distrust. Even in 1825 Henry Brougham has to plead the harmlessness of popular

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\* Note 21(1) : Cf. Bell - Abridged Works P.421. (quoted in Appendix)

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\* \* Note 21(2) : "We do not happen to participate in the alarm even of those who would, above all things, deprecate from our Mechanics' Institutions what might strictly and properly be termed the science of politics; believing as we do, that all truth is innocent, and that the greatest safety lies in its widest circulation."

(R.J. Bryce - "Sketch of a Plan for a System of National Education for Ireland (London 1825), P.33.

Also Cf. Newnham - "Principles of Physical Intellectual and Moral Education". (1827) I. pp.XII - XIII. Quoted in Appendix



the understanding can receive by the study either of matter or of mind....." (H. Brougham - "Practical Observations on Education of People." (1825) P.31.).

Religious instruction was to be the staple of elementary education still. Schools "were to be as little as possible scholastic. They were to be kept down to the lowest level of the workshop, excepting perhaps in one particular - that of working hard: for the scholars were to throw time away rather than be occupied with anything beyond the merest rudiments." (John Foster - "An Essay on the Evils of Popular Ignorance." Sec.VI. P.259), and to obtain contributions, says Foster (p.259) it was necessary, "to avow and plead how little it was that they pretended or presumed to teach."\*

The illiberalism of the educational<sup>is</sup> ambitions of the period ~~are~~ fairly clear from this. We still await the arrival of men who could say, with James Mill (in Encyclo. Britannica, 1818, Article on "Education") : "As we strive for an equal degree of justice, an equal degree of temperance, an equal degree of veracity, in the poor as in the rich, so ought we to strive for an equal degree of intelligence."

The period <sup>\*\*</sup>is one of laissez faire in industry as in education, with the weaknesses and strengths of that

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\* Note 22(1) : Cf. Bell- Abridged Works. p.127 (Quoted in Appendix)  
Cf. Bernard - "Digest of Reports of S.B.C.P. 1809,  
p.47: "In political commotions, the uneducated pauper has  
neither principle nor motive, to induce him to respect or  
defend that state of society, the benefits whereof he has not  
been taught to appreciate..."

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\* \* Note 22(2) : Cf. Wildespin - "System" p.16 (Quoted in Appendix.)



be the commonest means of hastening reform.

It is a period of educational expansion which has different starting-points for different groups:

(a) We may regard as one the movement which encouraged Sunday Schools, schools of industry, the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor, and the monitorial system, as starting from religion.

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(b) The teaching of the Philosophical Radicals like Bentham, Jas Mill, Brougham, Place, etc., starting from politics aiming at establishing a society in which the greatest happiness of the greatest number would act as a touchstone of good and evil. \*\*\* "The question whether the people should be educated, is the same with the question whether they should be happy or miserable. The question whether they should have more or less of intelligence, is merely the question whether they should have more or less misery when happiness might be given in its stead." (Mill, Article on "Education," Op.cit. p.38.)

(c) A movement antagonistic, on its negative side, to Church dominance, and on its positive side philanthropic and humanitarian, represented by men like Owen. \*\*\*\*

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\* Note 23.(1) : Cf. Fitch "Education in 19th Century" (p.221.):  
"And hardly any services that have been rendered to England are so precious as those which have been the result of tenacity to principle - bristling though it may have been with prejudices.."

\*\* Note 23.(2) : Cf. Halsey - "Growth of Philosophic Radicalism" (London, 1928).

\*\*\* Note 23.(3) : The famous phrase used first by Priestly in 1768 in "The First Principles of Government and on the Nature of Political, Civil and Religious Liberty" : the "grand criterium" is to be "the good and happiness of the members, that is to say of the majority of the members of a State," though Helvetius and Beccaria had already hit on the idea.

\*\*\*\* Note 23.(4) : Cf. Bache - "Report of Education in Europe" (1839) p.174. Quoted in Appendix. Cf. also Edinburgh Review XXI (1813) p.207:  
"It surely speaks a strange language on the part of the Church of England, that her existence should at this moment be held up as inconsistent with... religious liberty & general education"  
Cf. Hall - National Ed., 1836, pp 134-145 on educationally progressive factory-owners.



power to read and write, i.e. to reason, and social evils would of themselves vanish. The mechanical view of human nature and reason was countered by the influence of Wordsworth, Coleridge\* and the Anglican revival of the Thirties with their emphasis on the spiritual side of man. The Benthamites tend therefore to overvalue useful knowledge; but on the whole their interest in education was liberal. They supported The British and Foreign School Society, the spread of adult education, The Society for The Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, the infant school movement, and the Chrestomathic School. In Parliament two of the Benthamites, Brougham and Roebuck were especially active.

Amid the misery and pauperism following the Napoleonic Wars and the instability produced by the Industrial Revolution, \*\* social effort at easing the hard lot of the poor, whether in order to open up new employment or to encourage thrift, or to disseminate religious education, - all of them in some measure endeavouring to train the poor in self-help - was represented by various societies:

- (a) Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
- (b) Society for Bettering the Conditions and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor. (1796).
- (c) Sunday School Union. (1803).
- (d) Royal Lancasterian Institution (1808).
- (e) National Society. (1811.).

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\* Note 24.(1) : Cf. Wordsworth - "Excursion" IX.p.350-361.  
Quoted in Appendix. Cf. H.N. Brailsford - "Shelley, Godwin and Their Circle."

\*\* Note 24.(2) : Cf. Fitch "Education in 19th Century" p.226 - Quoted in Appendix.  
Later Jos. Kay traced a correlation between education and the division of land, on the one hand, with certain social virtues, on the other hand, e.g. "prudence, foresight, economy, neatness and cleanliness, temperate habits, conservatism, spirit of healthy and active independence."  
- ("Social Conditions and Education." 1850. I. p.13.)



importance. Jas. Mill says of it, in 1818, "Encycl. Britannica" (p.140): "It is of old date, having been founded in 1698. Its object is to assist parish schools which belong to, or are not adverse to, the Church of England, with books at a very reduced price, about half the prime cost. The funds arise partly from money in the stocks, partly from voluntary contribution. The annual income and expenditure exceed £40,000."

(b) The Society for Bettering the Conditions of the Poor was founded by Sir Thos. Bernard, Dr. Barrington, Bishop of Durham, Wm. Wilberforce, and others. (See Holyoake - "Self-Help a Hundred Years Ago."). Its aim was the happiness of the poor, whether by educating public opinion, establishing friendly societies, village shops, soup-kitchens, savings-banks, Sunday schools, charity schools, schools of industry or monitorial schools. It issued Reports, e.g. the valuable "Digest of Reports (Education)", 1809.\* In 1804 it asked for a Parliamentary Return from all charity schools except the great classical schools, to investigate the abuse of endowments, and to find out the educational needs of the various places (Cf. "Digest of Reports (Education)" No. XXVII. pp.306-9); and on this subject the Society held that all children could be properly educated if the various founders' intentions were strictly observed; if abuse of the funds were made an offence; if poor children were admitted to schools at a small fee; and if parochial schools were opened.

Working along with the Society or inspired by it, many benevolent men, in order to encourage industrious habits in the

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\* Note 25. (1) : See Chapter on "Schools of Industry."



In return they were fed and taught to read. (Cf. Society for Bettering the Conditions of the Poor - "Of the Education of the Poor" (1809) p.165).

In 1796 Pitt, as Prime Minister, had proposed that there should be a school of industry in every parish; but the proposal had little or no effect and was only of symbolic value. A Return of 1802 showed that 188,794 children were getting parish relief, of whom 20,536 were in schools of industry and receiving education.

A similar idea was worked out by some employers like Owen himself. We may note also the work of Wm. Gilpin, Vicar of Beldre, who in 1791 founded a parochial school for 20 boys and 20 girls of seven to nine years of age, the boys being taught the three R's, the girls reading, knitting and sewing, and their work being sold, the money being paid to the girls themselves. Gilpin's school had many imitators in Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cumberland. \*\*

(c) Sunday School Union. The new factor of Methodism had early begun to exert a powerful influence, in the hands of George Whitefield (1714-70), John Newton (1724-1807) the friend of Cowper, Henry Venn (1725-97), with the corresponding evangelicalism in the English Church, a movement supported by Wilberforce Granville Sharp, J. Venn, Zachary Macaulay, etc., the so-called "Clapham Sect." According to them religion represented a more personal relationship between God and the individual. There was

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\* Note 26.(1): See Chapter on "Schools of Industry."

\*\* Note 26.(2): Cf. "Of Education of the Poor." p.150 ff.

† Note 26(3) : Cf. Hill - Op.cit.pp.I29-I44 on educationally progressive employers in 1836 : they 'frequently go to considerable expense....'



In 1780 an organized Sunday School movement was started at Gloucester by Stock and Raikes, and in 1785 the Sunday School Union was formed. Already by then schools had been founded by John Wesley in many parts of the country, and in 1847 Kay-Shuttleworth, looking back, in his "Four Periods of Public Education" (1862) p.441, wrote that the Sunday Schools, "laid the foundations of public education for the poor deeply in the religious organizations of the country. The type of this school has to a great extent predetermined the constitution of the daily school and provided the fabric which by a natural transition may be employed in the establishment of an efficient system of elementary instruction, tending in harmony with the Sunday Schools to complete the work of Christian civilization, which has been so auspiciously commenced."

They mostly taught simple reading of the Bible; a few taught writing and arithmetic on week evenings. But some Sunday Schools passed beyond this limited course, e.g. Mrs. Trimmer's school at Brentford in 1786 started spinning on week days; while Hannah and Martha More in Somerset about 1789 introduced spinning and weaving, and in ten years were directing the education of 3,000 children in twelve parishes, the number later rising to 20,000. (Cf. Hannah More - 'Collected Works', 1854)<sup>†</sup>

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\* Note 27.(1) : Cf. Brougham in House of Commons (1820) (Hansard II p. 1). Quoted in Appendix and Bernard - "Digest of Reports of S.N.C.P. 1809, p.41: "At the time of the French Revolution, the greatest danger that existed was from the pernicious falsities which were industriously circulated among the poor."

\*\* Note 27.(2) : Cf. influence of Wesley on Mrs. Hannah Ball, leading her to found a Sunday School at High Wycombe in 1768. (See Gregory - "Robert Raikes."

\*\*\* Note 27.(3) : Cf. "Deconomy of Charity." (1787.), pp.127-171, though the main function of the teachers was "to hear them read, spell, repeat prayers & catechisms, & to give them the best instructions in their power respecting their duty to God & man" (Op.cit. p.117).

† Note 4 : Cf. Hill - 'Nat.Ed.', 1836, p.18



of 188,794 children out of a workhouse, 20,336 had been trained in a school of industry - a small percentage\* but these schools of industry did at least bring to school many children who would otherwise have had little chance of any education at all. Many poor children at a school of industry could earn 1/8d. per week besides learning the three R's, buy a new outfit each year, and at some obtain a good midday meal. (See S.B.C.P. Digest of Reports (Education)", p.179.) Behind the movement was the same sturdy faith in education as we find in John Foster's "Essay on Popular Ignorance," pp.254-5, vindicating his faith in education as the key to the situation: "....Keeping clear of the vain extravagances of expectation... it is, at the very lowest, self-evident that there is at any rate such an efficiency in cultivation, as to give a certainty that a well cultivated people cannot remain on the same degraded moral level as a neglected ignorant one - - or anywhere near it."\*\*

In an appendix to this chapter are added a few quotations on Sunday Schools in particular from the "Reports of Select Committee on Education of the Lower Orders," 1816, 1818 and 1834 which will show the general esteem in which these schools were held about that time. (Also, see Watson - "First Fifty Years of Sunday Schools" (1853). Meantime we may note in passing that the average attendance time in 1834 was three years in London, and four or five years elsewhere; while that at day-schools in London

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\* Note 22.(1) : Cf. Mrs. Trimmer in evidence before Select Committee (1854) said the schools of industry did not amount to 1% of the schools at that time. Also Cf. Quarterly Journal of Education" Vol.II,p.79 and VII,p.185.

\*\* Note 22.(2) : Cf. Wilderspin - "System." (p.7) quoted in Appendix. and Pale - "Observations on Infants Schools" (p.823) p.14. Quoted in Appendix. Cf. Trimmer - 'Oec. of Charity', p.80, p.II9, and passim.



"monitorial" method. The system of using pupil to teach pupil was hit upon by Bell and Lancaster at almost the same time; but the idea was far from new; e.g. Chas. Hoole in "A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School (1659)" shows that monitors were used even in the 17th Century; while Raikes used the method in the early Sunday Schools.

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Bell published an account of it in his "Experiment in Education at the Male Asylum at Madras..." in 1797; while Lancaster, who began teaching in 1798 in a school in the Borough Road, aided by Bell's published account, early hit on the same idea, and published "Improvements in Education" in 1803. At that time the annual cost of schooling per pupil was 7/6d. per head, this sum being reduced to between 4/- and 5/- as the numbers in his school at Borough Road increased to 1,000.

†  
Such were the hopes raised by this machine made system which would turn out children able to read in the same quantities as the new spinning machines turned out fabrics, (and which Bell and Lancaster were at pains to show, was closely associated with manual employment) that Samuel Whitbread brought in the Parochial Schools Bill in 1807 to plead for state-aided parochial schools, because "within a few years there has been discovered a plan for the instruction of youth, which is now

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\* Note 29.(1) : Select Committee on Education. (1834) Q.64, 258, 715, 2246.

\*\* Note 29.(2) : Cf. Bernard - "History of English Education" (p.947) p.63, who adds reference to Leach in "Encyclopaedia of Education," (ed. Foster Watson) III, p.1332, and Maxwell Lyte - "History of Eton College," pp.139 and 142, where the use of monitors in the 18th century is proved.

\*\*\* Note 29.(3) : Cf. Binns - "A Century of Education" Chs.1 and 2; Adamson - "English Education," p.24 ff; Birchenough - "History of English Elementary Education" p.283 ff; Gorsten - "Life of Lancaster."

† Note 29(4) : On the disappointing results see Stow - 'Trg. System', p.25, and Simpson - 'Necy. of Popr. Ed.', 1834, p.25.



years free education between seven and fourteen years, in the three R's, and in needlework and knitting in the case of girls; schools were to be set up by vestries or by magistrates with the power to levy a local rate; the clergy and parish officers were to be managers.

The Bill was unpopular, and though it passed through the Commons, was rejected by the Lords. \*\*

As the unsectarian nature of Lancaster's teaching became more apparent, it was denounced by people like Mrs. Trimmer who, though she had deserved well of education, feared anything that suggested revolutionary influence or deism. Lancaster was, however, supported by the rationalists, and the controversy was made a party issue - The Whigs and the "Edinburgh Review" <sup>xxx</sup> disputing with the Tories and the "Quarterly Review" (Cf. Salmon - "Educational Record." Vol. XVII, Nos. 43, 45; XIX. No. 47; Salmon - "Jos. Lancaster" ; Meiklejohn - "Andrew Bell." )

Lancaster's extravagance led him into financial difficulties, and in 1808 Allen, Fox, Corston, etc. founded the "British and Foreign Schools Society" "to constitute themselves a Society for the purpose of affording education, procuring employment and, as far as possible, to furnish clothing to the children of the poorer subjects of King George III. ...." , Lancaster being left to lecture on his system up and down the country. <sup>xxxx</sup> In two years 95 Lancasterian schools were established. In 1810 The

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\* Note 30.(1) : Cf. Hansard Vol. VIII, 984, 1051.

~~II. p. 207~~ & ~~II. p. 210~~

\*\* Note 30.(2) : Cf. Romilly - "Memoirs" July 13, 1807 and Aug. 6, 1807 quoted in Appendix to this chapter; and Hansard Vol. IX, 1178, where the Archbishop of Canterbury is quoted: "it would go to subvert the first principles of education in this country, which had hitherto been, and he trusted would continue to be, under the control and auspices of the Establishment."

\*\*\* Cf. "Edinburgh Review" XXI. (1813) p. 213

\*\*\*\* Cf. "Edinburgh Review" XXIII. (1814) p. 500.



Institution for training the children of the poor in the elementary letters, morality, and religion, in conjunction with industry." The Bishop of Durham founded the Barrington School for training monitors on the Madras Plan; and in 1811, mainly by the efforts of Joshua Watson, the "National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales," was founded: it was to be under the presidency of the Archbishop of Canterbury with a distinguished body of Church dignitaries, peers, etc. and its main principle was that, "the national religion should be made the foundation of national education, and should be the first and chief thing taught to the poor, according to the excellent liturgy and catechism provided by our Church for that purpose."

Between 1813 and 1816, £13,792 was distributed, most of it towards building new schools.\* The cost of educating each child was reckoned at 4/2d. per annum in 1816. In 1831, according to the returns of the National Society, as given in the Report of the Select Committee (1834), the total number of children receiving instruction in the Church Schools, was 900,412

In 1814, following upon the reckless extravagance and bankruptcy of Lancaster, the Royal Lancasterian Association under the influence mainly of the "philosophical radicals" group\*\*

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\* Note 31.(1) : Cf. 1818. Encycl. Britannica (pp. 139-140).

\*\* Note 31.(2) : Cf. "Life of Edward, Duke of Kent." by Rev. E. Neale (London 1850). (pp. 288-9): quotes report of proceedings at annual meeting of British and Foreign School Society, in which Kent's presidential address is recorded..... "Without alluding to what are termed the National Schools for any other purpose than to name them as an auxiliary by which a great deal of good is accomplished, I still wish to repeat my own preference for the British and Foreign School Society, upon that simple broad and plain principle, that we admit children of all religious persuasions, and give them that education, which by the other establishments is granted only on terms which to my principles seem too narrow....."



being extracts from the Bible; and the children were to attend some place of worship regularly on Sundays.

By 1816 about 300 schools had been established, the average school-time for each pupil being  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 years. Till 1816 no fees were charged, but thereafter a small fee had to be paid. \*\*

Besides these schools which were parts of a large coordinated movement, \*\*\* there were many adventure schools opened by philanthropic individuals, some perhaps inspired by the precedent of Owen's New Lanark experiment. Thus at Gainsborough in 1828 a school was opened by Thomas Cooper (Cf. "Life" p.74): "My school was a perfect passion with me for a time. I was in the school-room at five in the morning until nine at night, taking my meals in a hasty, imperfect way while the boys had gone home to theirs. I had quill pens to make in great number, the first work in the morning. Then again, in the evenings, although other day-schools broke up at five, I drew the older scholars around the globe, and described the countries upon it until a late hour, or talked to them on some part of history, or described the structure of animals or, to keep their attention, even related a story from the Arabian Nights. I spent at least fifty pounds on the walls of the

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\* Note 32.(1) : Cf. 1812 pamphlet by Jas. Mill - "Schools for all, not Schools for Churchmen Only," in Edinburgh Review (1812).

\*\* Note 32.(2) : Cf. 1818 Encycl. Britannica (p.140) on British and Foreign Schools Society: (it had) "collected above £20,000 previous to 1816 and the number of schools throughout the Kingdom for boys and girls is supposed to exceed 400, having on an average from 150 to 200 pupils. The expense of the Soc. in aiding schools and still more in training male and female teachers, is between £2,000 and £3,000 a year."

\*\*\* Note 32.(3) : Cf. Report before Select Committee on Education of Lower Orders (1818) by Jas. Millar, secr. of British & Foreign Schools Soc. on the growth of schools 1816-1818 (p.5) "We have made exertions to form auxiliary school societies with a view to extend our plan throughout the metropolis; we have commenced in Southwark; in that quarter there are two schools built, one for 300, the other for 400 children and a third is about to be built.... About half the children of the poor are unprovided for in any school, and three fourths at least as it applies to day-schools.... Our greatest difficulty is in getting rooms; wherever we can get rooms we can get scholars."



with small divisions so that the boys might have a miniature museum of pebbles, coins, etc. I was intent on making their school-room their delight."

One cannot help feeling the enthusiasm of individual accomplishment in such a venture, and this was by no means an isolated case, e.g. cottages, a Sunday School, baths, evening-classes, for his cotton-workers were set up near Manchester about 1832 by the mill-owner Greg, (See Knight - "Passages in a Working Life II.85) while at Hyde, Thomas Ashton set up similar services for his workers (Cf. Ure - "Philosophy of Manufactures" p.349.); and George Stephenson of The Clay Cross Iron and Coal Company in 1838 offered the same privileges (Cf. Smiles - "Life of George Stephenson" pp.479-481.); at Rochdale, John Bright had an office set apart for teaching his younger employees, his mother acting for a time as teacher, and in 1840 had a school built, with a newsroom, lending library, and providing week-night lectures, music lessons, etc. During a stoppage of work in 1846-47 Bright brought seven schoolmasters to instruct his men when unemployed.

(d).Adult Education: Much useful information on this subject is to be found in Thomas Pole's "History of Origin and Progress of Adult Schools, with an account of the beneficial effects already produced on the moral character of the Labouring Poor." (1814, Bristol).<sup>\*</sup> He is dealing with exclusively adult schools, and here, he says (p.2.), "we must yield the palm to Cambrian philanthropy. From information recently received from very respectable authority it appears that the first Adult Schools were established in North Wales." ..... It is proved that the first school exclusively for the instruction for adults was opened in North Wales by the benevolent efforts of Thomas Charles, A.B. Episcopal Minister of Bala, Merionethshire; this commenced in the summer of 1811."

\* Note 33(I) : Cf. Hill - Op.cit.,p.198.



time. What induced me first to think of establishing such an institution was the aversion I found in the adults to associate with the children in their schools."

..... The report of the success of this school soon spread over the country, and in many places the illiterate adults began to call for instruction. In one county..... the adult poor, even the aged, flocked to the Sunday Schools in crowds; and the shopkeepers could not immediately supply them with spectacles....." (p.3.).

These adult schools met, many of them, in chapels and barns. William Smith<sup>\*</sup> of Bristol was another pioneer, a chapel door-keeper earning 18/- per week. His beneficent efforts started when as a member of the British and Foreign Bible Society branch in Bristol, he, along with others, distributed Bibles among the poor. He found many adults unable to read, and with some friends formed an "Institution for instruction of Adult Persons to read the Holy Scriptures."<sup>\*\*</sup> Of the Committee Pole himself became a member. Aided by gifts of books from many individuals, especially ministers, they distributed thousands of Bibles. "Who ought not," says Pole, (p.15) "to lend his aid to dig the trenches through which are to flow the streams of divine knowledge to the ignorant...?"

In 1813 The Society of Friends gave the Bristol Adult School Society a large room able to hold 100 adults. The proposal to teach writing also was at once suspect. "The introduction of writing in an Adult School, occasioned an uneasiness and alarm in some individuals of the Committee, on account of its supposed tendency to secularize that day of the week appropriated to religious edification....." (Pole, Op.cit. p.21.)

Before long other adult schools were opened at Plymouth,

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\* Note 34.(1) : Cf. Pole - Op.cit.

\*\* Note 34 (2) : Cf. Hill -Op.cit. p.197 : By 1834 the Society had 36 schools .



gaol! The strictly religious orthodox attitude of the tutors is shown by Pole's remark, (p.27) : "With how much greater pleasure and satisfaction will they return to their labour, in the morning, after receiving additional improvement - having their minds stored with a few additional sentiments, that may inspire them with increasing hopes of becoming more useful in society and better prepared for the life to come!"

Pole quotes (p.53) a report by the Edinburgh Adult School Society (1811) giving figures on adult illiteracy of the time,<sup>\*\*</sup> and the scope of the lessons<sup>is</sup> seen in two rules proposed for Adult Societies:

"That the great object of this Society be to teach persons to read the Holy Scriptures; and that all poor persons of both sexes, and of any religious persuasion, of sixteen years or upwards, be considered eligible for admission into the schools as learners; and shall be admitted by the conductors according to their discretion, and dismissed by them as they may think proper." (Pole, p89) and secondly, "That the learners be considered as having obtained the object of this Society, when they can read distinctly and readily in the Bible; and shall then be dismissed." (Pole p.91.)

The usual course run by an Adult Society is seen in the report from Yarmouth.<sup>\*\*\*</sup>

The self-conscious enlightened political views of many of these Societies is seen in the Stockport School report: "The prosperity of a State depends upon its internal peace, and its

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\* Note 35.(1) : Quoted in Appendix.

\*\* Note 35.(2) : Quoted in Appendix.

\*\*\* Note 35.(3) : Quoted in Appendix.



poverty, he must live in peace." (Pole.p.55.).

The whole picture left by a reading of these reports in Pole is most favourable and fits in with the general background of largely illiterate masses denied any real educational opportunity but craving for any crumb offered them by philanthropic workers, urged by social goodwill or by religious conviction - a condition which was to continue for many years yet.\*

By the year 1820 what progress had been made and what remained to be done was described in the House of Commons (June 28) by Brougham (Hansard - Parliamentary Debates II.pp.5091) in a long speech, some of it quoted in the Appendix to this chapter.\*\* His main statistics were:

Number of children in England and Wales receiving education .....	750,000
Number of people in England and Wales receiving no education.....	2,000,000
Number of parishes in England.....	12,000
Number of parishes in England without a school.....	3,500

Of schools for young children about 1800 and earlier there

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\* Note 36.(1) : The subject is conclusively dealt with by Jos.Kay - "Social Conditions and Education of the People in England and Europe, shewing the results of the Primary Schools..." Vol.I. pp.380-382. Quoted in Appendix.

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\*\* Note 36.(2) : See Appendix.



the children out of harm's way, no matter by what useless methods.  
Cf. Crabbe - "The Borough," Letter XXIV. \*\*\*

"Yet one there is, that small regard to rule  
Or study pays, and still is deem'd a school.  
That, where a deaf, poor patient widow sits  
And awes some thirty infants as she knits;  
Infants of humble, busy wives who pay  
Some trifling price for freedom through the day.  
At this good matron's hut the children meet,  
Who thus becomes the mother of the street.  
Her room is small, they cannot widely stray, -  
Her threshold high, they cannot run away;  
Though deaf, she sees the rebel-heroes shout; -  
Though lame, her white rod nimbly walks about;  
With band of yarn she keeps offenders in,  
And to her gown the sturdiest rogue can pin.  
Aided by these, and spells, and tell-tale birds,  
Her power they dread and reverence her words."

Of the further development of Infants' Schools by Owen \*\*  
something will be said later.

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\* Note 37. (1) : Cf. Kay - "Social Conditions and Education.." (1850) Vol.I. p.358. Quoted in Appendix.

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\*\* Note 37. (2) : See Chapter - "Owen's Influence on Infants' School

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\*\*\* Note 37. (3) : Cf. Brougham in House of Commons (1820): "But if dame-schools were better regulated and adapted to the example of Fellenberg and Lanark, there would be less pauperism and crime (Hansard II.87.) and Cf. Lancaster "Improvements in Education" (1806)p.165, on "Initiatory Schools for The Children of Mechanics, quoted in Appendix.







I mean the poor children who are in parish workhouses, who are often friendless and immured in those receptacles of poverty, depression and vice, without education and without hope, children to whom curses and ill treatment are too often substitutes for parental smiles or maternal care."

(p.169.)

Note 19.(3). Report 1816.

Q. Would it (more extensive education), in your opinion lessen public crimes?

A. I have no doubt of it; for the most guilty criminal characters are commonly the most ignorant: in fact we cannot get them to stay in our schools; we have sometimes gathered them from the highways, and brought them into our schools, but we never could keep them long together.

Note 20.(2). Jas. Mill. - 1818 Encycl. Britannica.

"Till recently it was denied that intelligence was a desirable quality in the great body of the people; and as intelligence is power, such is an unavoidable opinion in the breasts of those who think that the human race ought to consist of two classes, - one that of the oppressors, another that of the oppressed. The concern which is now felt for the education of the working classes, shows that we have made a great step in knowledge, and in that genuine morality whichever attends it."

(p.29.)

"If education be to communicate the art of happiness and if intelligence consists of two parts, - a knowledge of the order of those events of nature on which our pleasures and pains depend, - and the sagacity which discovers the best



whether they should have more or less intelligence, is merely the question whether they should have more or less of misery, when happiness might be given in its stead."

Note 20(3): Hill - National Ed., 1826, pp. 25-30, for account of Brenton Asylum:  
"juvenile vagrants" sent to Cape of Good Hope.

Note 21.(1). Bell - "Abridged Works." (p.421.)

"There are those who are unfriendly to the education of the lower order of youth, and who on this account have conceived and expressed a prejudice against the means by which this object is effected."

Note 22.(1). Bell - "Abridged Works." (p.127.)

"It is not proposed that the children of the poor be educated in an expensive manner, or even taught to write and to cipher. Utopian schemes for the universal diffusion of general knowledge, would soon realize the fable of the belly and the other members of the body, and confound that distinction of ranks and classes of society on which the general welfare hinges, and the happiness of the lower orders, no less than that of the higher, depends..... there is a risk of elevating, by an indiscriminate education, the minds of those doomed to the drudgery of daily labour above their condition, and thereby rendering them discontented and unhappy in their lot. It may suffice to teach the generality, on an economical plan, to read their Bible and understand the doctrines of our holy religion."

Note 21.(2). Cf. Newnham - "Principles of Education" (1827). I, pp. XII- XIII.

"If..... the education of the poor be the question at issue, the especial object should be to prepare them for their daily labour; for the efficient discharge of their duties as servants and subjects; for the regular and entire performance of the relative and social virtues; and for their keeping the



for labour, and render them dissatisfied with their share of blessing, which a just and holy God has most equally diffused over the whole world, suited only in its measure and degree and kind, to the respective classes....."

(Preface XII.)

and again, his aim is,

"to exhibit the principles upon which the powers of the animal machine may be carried to their highest state of perfection, consistently with the situation and the wants of the individual....."

(Preface XIII.)

Note 22.(2). Wilderspin. "System." (p.15.)

....."in both Houses of Parliament scarcely a session has past without long debates as to the best methods of protecting hares, pheasants, and partridges; but no legislation has yet appeared as to the best method of protecting, training and educating little children. To legislate for punishment seems to be the order of the day.... (which)..... costs as much or more than would pay for the training and educating of every poor child in the three kingdoms."

Note 23.(4.) Bache in "Report of Education in Europe.(1839.

"In no country in Europe, I believe, is so much benevolent effort to be met with as in Great Britain, and could it be directed in concert, it is capable of the highest results."

(p.174.)

Note 24.(1). Wordsworth - "Excursion" IX.350-361.

"The discipline of slavery is unknown

Among us - - hence the more do we require

The discipline of virtue; order else

Cannot subsist, nor confidence, nor peace,

Thus, duties rising out of good present



So shall licentiousness and black resolve  
Be rooted out, and virtuous habits take  
Their place; and genuine piety descent  
Like an inheritance, from age to age."

Note 24.(2). Cf. Fitch. "Education in 19th Century.(p.226.)

"And in the earlier years of the century we find in this matter of education, Wordsworth, Coleridge and what one may call the Burke tradition, ranged against Brougham, Jeremy Bentham, and James Mill."

Note 27.(1). Brougham - House of Commons, 1820.  
(Hansard II. 55.)

"It appeared that since the peace of Amiens, and in consequence of what had taken place at the French revolution, the education of the poorer classes was objected to by some persons in this country, on the ground that it would make a man a worse subject. This was however a modern idea....."

Note 27.(2.) A. Gregory - "Robert Raikes, Journalist and Philanthropist." pp. 45-48.

Raikes was not the first to found a Sunday School, e.g. between 1654 and 1662 the Rev. Joseph Alleine gave instruction to children on the Sabbath at Taunton, and Mrs. Catherine Bovey held "one of the pleasantest Sunday Schools on record" at Flaxley Abbey."

Note 28.(2). Pole - "Observations on Infant Schools(1823).

"That great delinquency still prevails, must be acknowledged, but that it exists in a greater degree than it did before the systems of Bell and Lancaster were so generally adopted, and that it prevails in any special degree, amongst those so instructed, remains to be proved."

(P.14.)



individuals with an unworthy motive of saving their own pockets."

(p.15.)

Note 28.(2). Wilderspin - "System" (1840.)

"The beershops will be deserted, and pauperism will sink from its present monstrous bulk into comparative insignificance; vice will be greatly diminished; improvident marriages will decrease, a stronger and better race of children will be produced, and domestic misery among the poorer classes become proportionately rare."

(p.7.)

Note 30.(2). Memoirs of Life of Sir Samuel Romilly, by Himself. (1840. London). Vol.II.p.207. (July 13, 1807).

"I said a few words in the House of Commons in support of Whitbread's Bill, for establishing schools for the education of the poor, in all the parishes of England. It was upon the second reading of the Bill. The question was carried, but the Bill will certainly be lost. Many persons think that the subject requires further consideration, and a more matured plan; but I am afraid a much greater portion of the House think it expedient that the people should be kept in a state of ignorance."

Vol.II.p.218. (Aug.6th.1807.) "Whitbread's Bill for establishing parochial schools, was read a third time, and passed the House of Commons. No opposition was given to it now, but it had been strenuously opposed in former stages; and it is probably suffered to pass the Commons, because it is well known that it will be rejected by the Lords. That such country gentlemen as ..... and ..... should oppose such a measure, might be expected: that a writer like Manderville



but that a man so enlightened as Windham, and having upon many subjects such just notions, should take the same side (which he has done most earnestly), would excite great astonishment, if one did not recollect his eager opposition a few months ago to the abolition of the slave trade. It has been said that when it is proposed to communicate knowledge to the lowest classes of society, it is very important to be informed what knowledge it is intended to give them; and that we should be very sure that they will not be taught errors, both in religion and politics instead of truths. But what is proposed is, not to give knowledge to the poor, but to qualify them to acquire it: it is by teaching them reading, writing and arithmetic, to give them means which they do not now possess, of acquiring and communicating ideas, and of exercising their minds. If man be distinguished from the rest of the animal creation by reason, surely to improve that faculty, and to supply it with materials to work on, is to render him, whatever be his station of life, more perfect. If we could give our species a new sense, we surely would not withhold it from them. To enable men to read and write is, as it were, to give them a new sense. We cannot prevent those who are in the lowest ranks of life having political opinions; and few men would venture to avow that they would prevent it if they could. The question, then, is whether it be better to let persons in inferior stations acquire their notions of politics and political economy from their companions, or from men of a juster way of thinking, and more cultivated understandings - from ignorant clowns, or from writers of merit. The alarm lest false notions in politics and religion should spread throughout the country with a facility of acquiring knowledge, proceeds upon the false supposition that, if



easily misled and the most prone to tumults....."

Note 32.(2). Philosophical Radicalism: Vide Halévy - "Growth of Philosophical Radicalism" (1928)

where it is defined as an attempt to apply the principles of Newton to the affairs of politics and morals."

(p.6.)

Note 32.(3). Cf. Halévy - Op.cit., pp.295-6.

"In the British and Foreign School Society itself, Place and James Mill secured in the first place that the rule in the statutes of the West London Lancasterian Association, that reading lessons should be taken only from the Bible, should be modified, and that the rule that all children should be taken to places of worship every Sunday, should be suppressed. But in 1814 Lancaster who had been turned out, revenged himself by denouncing Place's atheism; and Sir Francis Burdett also revenged himself by accusing Place of being a government spy. Place left the West London Lancasterian Association. In 1815 the evangelicals definitely got the upper hand in the British and Foreign School Society, and Place withdrew from it also. The project of The Superior Chrestomathic School likewise came to nothing. Funds were lacking..... But ten years of effort had not been wholly wasted. The speech which Brougham, who owed all his ideas to James Mill, pronounced in the Commons in 1820, in favour of the organisation by the State of a complete system of primary education, was the direct result of the Benthamite propaganda. University College and the Mechanics' Institute, which were founded in London, the one due to Mill and the other to Place, were new forms of Chrestomathic institutions, modified and better adapted to the circumstances."



the honour to comply with your request respecting my school. Soon after my arrival at this unfortunate place, with a numerous body of prisoners (whose dissoluteness, ignorance of conduct, and manners were painful), I remembered the exertions of my affectionate parents to give me an education; and concluded it was my duty, although a prisoner, to become useful, and not continue a blank in creation. Accordingly I proposed a school, and it gradually increased from six to twenty-seven..... Some have, at times, sold part of their allowance of meat, to assist me in paying for my school-room: from some I have required nothing....."

Pole - Op.cit. P.35.

From this Pole deduces that the same good work might profitably be done with inmates of hospitals, almshouses and like institutions. He quotes Dean Tucker's sermon in 1746:

"And particularly it hath not yet been set forth what a tendency it has toward retrieving the almost lost sense of piety and virtue among the poor; nor have hospitals and infirmaries been immediately considered as so many schools for the revival and propagation of morality and religion, and as means that may conduce toward a national reformation in the common people..."

(p.37).

Note 35.(2). Pole quotes report by Committee of the Edinburgh Society, 1811.

"..... among the numerous bands who come southward in the time of harvest to reap our fields, he (a member of the Society) has not found one in ten capable of reading the simplest passages of sacred Scripture. This, however, is now known to be a favourable specimen of the country: the inhabitants of many populous districts being much more illiterate. In some



in a better condition! In a letter relating to one parish....  
the Clergyman says that out of four thousand inhabitants, perhaps  
hardly seven hundred possess even a smattering of book knowledge!"

(p.53.)

Pole quotes figures of Scottish parishes.

"On the Main Land."

In the parish of Fearn,	out of 1,500	- 1300	are unable to
" " " " Gairloch "	" 2,945	- 2,549 "	" " " read. "
" " " " Lochbroom "	" 4,000	- 3,300 "	" " " "

"In the Islands."

In the parish of Kilmuir, Skye	out of 3,056	- 2,718	are unable
" " " " Stornoway, Lewes "	" 4,000	- 2,800 "	" " " " to read. "
" " " " Harris "	" 3,000	- 2,900 "	" " " " "
" " " " N.Vist "	" 4,000	- 3,800 "	" " " " "

(p.54.)

Note 35.(3).

"In July, 1813, a few young persons formed a plan for  
instructing the adult poor of Yarmouth in reading the Scriptures.  
The Friends' Meeting House was granted them for a school-room  
every Sunday evening, from six to eight o'clock. As many  
persons were deemed admissible, above sixteen years of age, of  
both sexes, as the rooms would accommodate. The number of  
scholars soon amounted to thirty, instructed by eight teachers,  
chosen from the body of persons who first proposed the  
Institution..... The Committee therefore, resolved to engage  
large rooms, fit them up with desks, and open the school three  
times a week; adding instruction in writing to that of reading  
the Holy Scriptures. These resolutions have been carried into  
effect; the present number of scholars is about eighty - above  
forty males and thirty females. The males are chiefly under



Note 36.(1). Kay - "Social Conditions and Education"  
(1850) I. p.356.

Kay has poor opinion of English education and social <sup>conditions</sup> ~~works~~ compared with Europe and North America.

"Throughout the greater part of Western Europe and North America all the children of the poorest classes are educated gratuitously, much better than the children of our shopkeepers; in England and Wales more than half the poor cannot read and write, while the majority of the remainder know nothing of science, history, geography, music, or drawing, and very little of the Scripture history. Throughout the greater part of Western Europe and North America, the habits of the children are most carefully disciplined from their sixth to their fourteenth year; in England and Wales little or no attention is paid to this most important national duty..... Throughout the greater part of Western Europe and North America the governments provide admirable and exceedingly cheap schools and colleges for the sons of the shopkeepers; in England and Wales the schools for the shopkeepers' children are generally very expensive and miserably poor....."

Note 36.(1). Jos. Kay - "Social Conditions and Education of the People in England and Europe, shewing the results of the Primary Schools and the division of landed property in Foreign Countries."

Vol.I. pp.380-382. (London, 1850.).

Kay first quotes the following figures from Porter's "Progress of the Nation."



No. who could neither read or write -	Males	5,598	8,162	7,530
	Females	1,435	1,959	2,161
No. who could read only or read and write imperfectly	Males	8,968	14,983	13,950
	Females	2,015	3,277	3,161
No. who could read and write well	Males	2,016	1,890	2,634
	Females	199	231	350
No. who had received superior education -	Males	176	65	76
	Females	15	4	5
No. whose instruction was not ascertained -	Males	490	633	396
	Females	72	98	86

"The most cursory glance at these above figures must carry conviction to every mind, that instruction has power to restrain men from the commission of crimes - of such a nature, at least, as will bring them before a bar of justice. If we class together those who can neither read nor write, and those who have acquired only an imperfect acquaintance with those elementary branches of knowledge.... we find that in the ten years comprised in the returns there were, out of 252,544 persons committed, and whose degrees of instruction were ascertained, the great proportion of 229,300, or more than 90 in 100, uninstructed persons; while only 1,085 persons had enjoyed the advantages of instruction beyond the elementary degree, and only 22,159 had mastered without advancing beyond, the acts of reading and writing."



Of:

Those wholly uninstructed, and those who could read only, or read and write imperfectly

7,303 1,776 9,079

Those who could read and write well

791 86 877

Those superiorly instructed

42 2 44

Total:

8,136 1,864 10,000

(p.381.)

".....How much the internal peace of the country may be affected by the prevalence of ignorance or the spread of knowledge may be reasonably inferred from the state of instruction of persons tried at the special commission in October, 1842, arising out of the then recent rising in the manufacturing districts. This is shown by the following table :-

	Cheshire	Lancs.	Staffordshire	Total	Centesimal Proportion
Neither read nor write	26	47	81	154	27.16
Read only	30	26	99	155	27.34
Read and write imperfectly	28	97	59	184	32.48
Read and write well	9	28	36	73	12.80
Superior instruction	-	-	1	1	.16
	93	198	276	567	100.

(p.382.)



added about 11,000 for 150 parishes from which no returns had yet been made. In the endowed schools, 165,432 children were educated; making a total (exclusive of the 11,000) of 655,432. In England it appeared that on the average  $1/14$  or  $1/15$  of the whole population was placed in the way of receiving education."

(p.60.)

"Another deduction ought also to be made for the dame-schools, where 53,000 were educated, or rather not educated, for it amounted to no education at all, since the children were generally sent too young, and taken away just when they were competent to learn. He admitted, notwithstanding, that these dame-schools were most useful, on account of the regularity and discipline they inculcated. The average means of education, therefore, was only in fact  $1/16$  in England; yet even this scanty means had only existed since the year 1803, when what were called the new schools, or those upon the systems of Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster, were established. Those schools were in number 1,520, and they received about 200,000 children. Before 1803, then only the 21st part of the population was placed in the way of education, and at that date England might be justly looked on as the worst educated country of Europe. What a different picture was afforded by Scotland! The education there was in the proportion of  $1/9$ th or between  $1/9$ th and  $1/10$ th. Wales was even in a worse state than England: at the present day the proportion was  $1/20$ th and before 1803 it was  $1/26$ th."

(p.62.)

"He would state in the first place, what was the amount of the population in England wholly destitute of the means of education. He would take 600,000, as before, as the number educated in endowed and unendowed schools, deducting the



received indeed, in this way, a very small modicum of education; and above all, they obtained none of the useful habits inculcated by the discipline of schools under the eye of a master.... The total therefore of the children receiving education was 750,000; according to which calculation no less than 2,000,000 of the population of England was left in this respect unprovided for: in other words, every fifth person was without the means of education; so that the condition of Switzerland was twelve times better than our own."

(p.63.)

On parishes he says:-

"There were about 12,000 ecclesiastical district parishes or chapelries, in England; of these 3,500 had not the vestige of a school, endowed, unendowed, or dame..... Of the remainder 3,000 had endowed schools, and the rest relied entirely on unendowed schools - - of course, fleeting and casual."

(p.63.)

Note 37.(1).     Kay - "Social Conditions and Education.."(1850)  
Vol. I. 358.

"We have not one half as many schools as we require for the children of our towns; and of those we have established, a great number are either managed by teachers who are utterly unequal to the proper discharge of their duties, or are so wretchedly arranged, furnished and ventilated, or so miserably conducted and supported, as to make it certain that in many cases, they are doing very great harm to the children who frequent them. Of these schools, many are nothing but poor "dame schools," conducted often in cellars and garrets by



and who endeavour with a birch or a cane to frighten the children into learning by rote verses of the Scriptures."

(p.358.)

Note 37.(3). Lancaster on the Initiatory Schools, <sup>viz,</sup> "Schools in which the children of mechanics, etc. are generally educated.

"They are frequented by boys and girls indiscriminately, few of them above seven years of age: the mistress is frequently the wife of some mechanic, induced to undertake this task from a desire to increase a scanty income, or to add to her domestic comforts. The subjects of tuition are comprised in reading and needlework..... Disorder, noise, etc. seem more the characteristic of these schools than the improvement of the little ones who attend them....."

(Lancaster - "Improvements in Education  
(1806), p.165.)

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## CHAPTER II. APPENDIX II.

### SUNDAY SCHOOLS.

"I then enquired of the women what they would do if they were to have a school in their neighbourhood. They answered that they would do all in their power to support it. I then enquired of them what they would do if they were to have a school in their neighbourhood. They answered that they would do all in their power to support it. I then enquired of them what they would do if they were to have a school in their neighbourhood. They answered that they would do all in their power to support it."

"I then enquired of the women what they would do if they were to have a school in their neighbourhood. They answered that they would do all in their power to support it. I then enquired of them what they would do if they were to have a school in their neighbourhood. They answered that they would do all in their power to support it. I then enquired of them what they would do if they were to have a school in their neighbourhood. They answered that they would do all in their power to support it."

"I then enquired of the women what they would do if they were to have a school in their neighbourhood. They answered that they would do all in their power to support it. I then enquired of them what they would do if they were to have a school in their neighbourhood. They answered that they would do all in their power to support it."



".... The beginning of this scheme was entirely owing to accident. Some business leading me one morning into the suburbs of the city, where the lowest of the people (who are principally employed in the pin manufactory) chiefly reside, I was struck with concern at seeing a group of children, wretchedly ragged, at play in the streets. I asked an inhabitant whether those children belonged to that part of the town, and lamented their misery and idleness. 'Ah, sir,' said the woman to whom I was speaking, 'could you take a view of this part of the town on a Sunday, you would be shocked indeed; for then the street is filled with multitudes of these wretches, who, released on that day from employment, spend their time in noise and riot, playing at 'luck', and cursing and swearing in a manner so horrid as to convey to any serious mind an idea of hell rather than any other place.....' "

"I then enquired of the woman if there were any decent well-disposed women in the neighbourhood who kept schools for teaching to read. I presently was directed to four: to these I applied, and made an agreement with them to receive as many children as I should send upon the Sunday whom they were to instruct in reading and in the Church Catechism. For this I engaged to pay them each a shilling for their day's employment....."

(3 years later)....."The numbers who have learned to read and say their Catechism are so great that I am astonished at it. Upon the Sunday afternoon the mistresses take their scholars to church, a place into which neither they nor their ancestors had ever before entered, with a view to the glory of God....."

"With regard to the rules adopted, I only require that they may come to the school on Sunday as clean as possible. Many



as well come to school and learn what may tend to your good in that garb. I reject none on that footing. All I require are clean hands, clean face, and the hair combed; if you have no clean shirt, come in what you have on.

The want of decent apparel at first kept great numbers at a distance, but they now begin to grow wiser, and all pressing to learn. I have had the good luck to procure places for some that were deserving, which has been of great use. You will understand that these children are from six years old to twelve or fourteen. Boys and girls above this age, who have been totally undisciplined, are generally too refractory for this government. A reformation of society seems to me to be only practicable by establishing notions of duty, and practical habits of order and decorum, at an early age...."

and again in "Gloucester Journal" for May 24, 1784, Raikes writes:-

"The good effects of Sunday Schools established in this city are instanced in the account given by the principal persons in the pin and sack manufactories, wherein great reformation has taken place among the multitudes whom they employ. From being idle, ungovernable, profligate and filthy in the extreme, they say the boys and girls are become not only cleanly and decent in their appearance, but are greatly humanized in their manners, - more orderly, tractable, and attentive to business, and of course, more serviceable than they ever expected to find them....."

REPORT OF SELECT COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION OF THE LOWER ORDERS (1816).

Q.(p.154.) From what you know of Sunday Schools, how long do you think a child takes learning to read?

A. "I have known a boy of 14 years old come into a Sunday School who was scarcely able to read a letter, and by the time he



we think, upon an average, the children learn to read in about three years.

Q. "Do you teach writing?"

A. "On the week evenings, which is always gratuitous."

Q. "Is that taught to all or only meant as a reward?"

A. "It is a reward for proficiency and good behaviour."

Q. "Have you any adults in these schools?"

A. "We have adults to the number of 580 taught within the limits of our Union, and there are other adult schools connected with the City of London Adult Society that has been recently formed; but we take no notice of them in our own."

Q. "How long does an adult take to learn to read in an adult school?"

A. "About five months; they are taught on Sunday and one or two evenings in the week."

Q. "When you say that a boy at a Sunday School will learn to read in three years, do you mean a boy of ordinary ability?"

A. "I do."

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Id. (p.73). Estimate of a large district in London.

No. of those whose parents can pay for their education	- 67,500
" " " who are taught in Charity, Parochial and National Schools	- 5,000
" " " who are taught in Sunday Schools, by gratuitous teachers	- 10,000
" " " untaught	- 30,000

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REPORT OF SELECT COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION OF THE LOWER ORDERS (1816)

Q. (p.13.) "Are there many poor children without the means of education?"

A. "I should suppose about near one half.... By far the greater part of those who are educated are educated in Sunday



Sunday schools only?"

A. "Four fifths at least, I should suppose, are educated in Sunday schools only, but in one or two of the Sunday schools they meet one evening in the week for an hour or two."

(p.14) Q. "What is the time that children usually remain in your school?"

A. "Till the age of fourteen, unless they are taken out previously by their parents."

Q. "From what age?"

A. "From eight to fourteen; and if they conduct themselves well, they have a little apprentice fee, something to pay for their indentures, and a Bible and Testament given them."

(p.27) Q. Rev. T. T. Walmsley, Secretary of National Society.

"How much is your income in annual subscriptions?"

A. "I should suppose about £1,500 a year."  
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Q. "How many schools have you contributed towards the erection or extension of?"

A. "Up to June 1815, a hundred and twenty-two schools have been erected....."  
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Evidence (p.76.) of Sunday Schools teaching ordinary pupils on Sundays, and more advanced pupils on other evenings also.  
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(p.76) Q. "What is the advantage of gratuitous teachers over paid teachers?"

A. "It is the great excellence of the Sunday school system that it employs gratuitous teachers who are incalculably preferable to paid teachers, because they perform their duty better; many of them are persons in respectable situations of life, and the children perceive the disinterested attention of their teachers, and therefore feel a greater regard for them and pay more attention to their instructions."



A. "Yes, exceedingly so; their habits of decency and order vastly improve; they become clean in their persons and respectful in their behaviour, and from being dirty, ill-behaved children, become decent and creditable."

Q. "What is the cause of this?"

A. "When they see others better clothed than themselves, they apply to their parents for clothes, and generally succeed and get better clothes."

Q. "If this occurs with the parents of Sunday school children, might not the parents of children in day schools be induced to adopt the same frugality and industry and care of their children?"

A. "I can see no difference, except that the parents of Sunday school children are generally more necessitous than those of charity school children, because they want their labour in the week."

(p.13) Q. "In the Sunday schools, how many years does it require to teach a child reading?"

A. "I really am not sure how long; if they attend constantly, they will very soon acquire it; from the observation I have made, I am persuaded Sunday schools are by far the most efficient way of instructing children; their parents cannot spare them so well on other days, and their attendance is generally better on Sundays than on other days."

(p.146ff.) Evidence of Thos. Babington M.P. who had looked after a Sunday school for 30 years: his views in many ways resemble Owen's.

"My experience has shown me that an endeavour to open the minds of the children and to make them enter into what they read... secures their attention and produces a willingness to continue longer at school..... It is unnecessary to say how much this



heart.

..... My object has been to lead and enable the children to read, not mechanically, but with their understanding and to interest them in the subject matter of what they are reading, so that after leaving school, they might not only be improved in their general character and in their knowledge, but might be qualified and disposed to take up the Bible in after-life with satisfaction and profit.

..... Care is taken never to make ignorance any fault, except when accompanied with inattention or perverseness, but to proceed with kindness and good humour, and to support the child with encouragement, until the matter is understood.

..... With respect to rewards and punishments, we are not profuse in the former, and very sparing in the latter.... I have always found that the best mode of noticing faults is to talk in a friendly and rational manner to the culprit, in the presence of his school-fellows and that there are few minds on which a due impression may not be made in this manner..... I have not been desirous to carry on the children fast in mere reading and writing, wishing always to have them for several years in the school, and finding that the parents, estimating their progress by their advancement in those mechanical parts of instruction were not desirous of continuing them in it after their children had acquired sufficient attainments of that kind.

P.147..... These (regularity of attendance during worship, cleanliness, deference to authority, civility, punctuality, method, and abstinence from disturbing others) with other good habits can scarcely be established parts of the character except the continuance at school be considerably prolonged.

..... I have thought it desirable to make the attendance at



Society" (for clothing and educating destitute children):

"The benefit of Sunday schools over that of other schools: we have found, generally, that once a week, which is on the Sabbath day, the child will learn as much at that time as he would, if placed in a National School, or in a school in the British system of education, in a week."

p.154. Plan for preventing parents selling children's clothing by stamping on it "J.B.S. Charity."

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p.7. Evidence of Rev.Wm.Gurnly.

"Very great efforts have been made by teachers of Sunday schools to bring children forward, to which I ascribe the fact that though, out of our Sunday scholars we have taken at least 140 children into the day school they did not consist of more than 200 at first. We took 140 at least and have added since our school commenced 30 new scholars to the Sunday school; but I am satisfied of this, the national system, at least the improved system of education, upon that large scale of collecting great numbers under few teachers, will in time render unnecessary the Sunday education to the younger children; but that the Sunday education will never be useless to those who are a little more advanced, who are useful all the week to their parents, and who have perhaps been neglected when they were younger, and therefore they are... stimulated to learn to read themselves, and who have no other time than on the Sunday; the zeal which has just sprung up among the children has stirred up a corresponding desire among adults."

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(p.7.) Evidence of W.F. Lloyd, Secretary of Sunday School Union Societ

"There has been a considerable increase of scholars in



in connection with you?"

A. "I should suppose about 50,000 in the Sunday schools.....

I think we might have Sunday schools for the whole of the destitute population of London, if we could find school rooms."

(p.8.) Q. "Does the larger proportion of the Sunday scholars attend day schools?"

A. "A considerable number of them do."

Q. "Do you find distinct and marked good effects from the cause you have mentioned in the old manner of teaching?"

A. "Peculiarly good effects in the moral influence the teachers have over the children, the parents and families."

(p.9.) ..... "There is one point which I may allude to, the amazing number of children in the metropolis who are prevented from attending any school whatever, from the absolute want of any thing like decent clothing; there are a vast number of children employed in selling matches, sweeping the streets, and various other low employments..... in one family consisting of six children, there was only one suit of clothes."

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(p.10.) Rev. T. T. Walmsley re National Established Schools.

"At the annual general meeting of the institution in that year (1816) there were 756 schools, in which were 117,000 children attending to receive education. At the annual general meeting in the year 1817 the schools amounted in number to 1,009 and there were 155,000 children in them."

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means of educating the poor are steadily increasing in all considerable towns as well in the Metropolis..... It appears clearly from the Returns, as well as from other sources, that a very great deficiency exists in the means of educating the Poor, wherever the population is thin and scattered over country districts. The efforts of individuals combined in societies are almost wholly confined to populous places." (p.56).

....."In places where only one school can be supported, it is manifest that any regulations which exclude Dissenters deprive the Poor of that body of all means of education."

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Evidence of Wm. Allen on British & Foreign School Society. (p.61<sup>fn</sup>)

Q. "Has the British and Foreign School Society made progress since you were last examined in this Committee, two years ago?"

A. "It is going on, in something like a geometrical ratio; applications for masters and mistresses for schools, continue to be made from all parts of the country, and, as far as the limited nature of our funds will permit, they are punctually attended to: it is indeed gratifying to find that the vast importance of educating the children of the poor is so increasingly felt by the public....."

(p.61.)

Q. "Do you apprehend that there would be any danger of weakening the zeal of private subscribers in large towns by interposing parliamentary assistance to bear part of the annual expenses?"

A. "Certainly I do, for we universally find that those things which the public enter into with spirit, from a consciousness of their value and importance to the community, are best supported by that zeal, when left to itself."

Q. "Have you any further information respecting the effect



aging; in many places where the inhabitants had been greatly annoyed by the irregular conduct of the poor children before those schools were established, we have reports that the children are no longer a nuisance in the streets on the Sunday, but regularly attend their places of worship, and that a most material change for the better is apparent..."

(p.64.)

The Report shows the difficulty:

- (1) Of finding what provision for schooling really exists.
- (2) Of finding any real facts because of the inaccuracy of the returns and claims made by various persons.

Cf. Report p.267. (Francis Place).

Q. "Have you seen the accounts given in of the expense of education on the new plans?"

A. "Yes."

Q. "Do you hold that those estimates are accurate?"

A. "I know that the accounts that have been given of the Lancasterian schools are all incorrect."

Q. "In what manner do you think the estimates are incorrect?"

A. "I was appointed with three others to enquire as to the actual expense of educating the children of the Lancasterian schools in London, and we found that the school in North Street, which was said to be a school for 1,000 boys, could not admit more than 560 at one time; the master stated that the average number which attended for the last twelve months was 350, that was his estimate and not the number actually ascertained by counting them at one time...."



that called the Sunday School Society which operates, in a general way, to instruct the poor and improve their morals; from the short time the children attend such schools its good effects must be but limited..... I has been generally conceived that if any particular sect obtained the principal care in a national system of education, that part would soon be likely to possess the greatest power and influence in the state."

Bernard - "Digest of Reports of Society for Bettering the Conditions of the Poor," 1809, p.221.

instances a Sunday School at Kirkstall, held in one room of a house by the owner, with 30 children from five to fourteen years of age. The owner received £1. per year and some clothes for his family. Bernard concludes :- "There is no mode in which so much benefit may be conferred with so little expense and attention; whether we look to the education of the young, to the comfort, improvement, and religious habits of the old and middle-aged, or to what is sadly neglected in many parts of England - the due observance of the Sabbath."

(p.223.)

Jas. Mill - 1818, Encycl. Britannica, (p.140) on Sunday Schools.

"Until these benevolent establishments (National Society and British and Foreign School Society) were disseminated, the principal means of instruction for numbers of the poor were in the Sunday Schools; an institution highly advantageous, in preventing an improper observance of Sunday, but necessarily of very slow effect in the business of teaching. The number of Sunday scholars in the Metropolis is computed (First Report p.76) at 40,000; but the time required there by a child to learn to read extends to two, two and a half, and even to three years."

(p.140)



of education '.

Trimmer - 'Oeconomy of Charity' , p.121ff.: there should be  
evening-  
a Sunday School in every family for the benefit of  
domestic servants .

Stow --'Training System' , p.106 : 'we must admit the sad fact  
that Sabbath schools have been inefficient ' .



### CHAPTER III.

#### THE MONITORIAL SYSTEM & ROBERT OWEN.

'What we should deprecate is any attempt to confine our aims of education , i.e. our spiritual apprehension , to one aspect of experience , to a view which , when pressed to an extreme , as it is in our day , threatens to destroy our sense of human worth , striving to accelerate the millennium' .

( J.J. Findlay - 'Foundations of Ed.' , I.38. )



from a survey of the monitorial system we may be better able to judge of Owen's own original contribution.

The "mutual" system was not unknown even in the seventeenth century,<sup>\*</sup> much less in the eighteenth - Pestalozzi used it at Stanz to some extent, but it was left to Bell and Lancaster to organize the system to its full extent. In so doing, both claimed originality. \*\*

With their work Owen was quite familiar, since he goes out of his way at times to criticise the mistakes of this, the mechanistic working-out of education. On the other hand, he was familiar to some extent with the opposite view of the educational process, the subjective view represented by Rousseau and Pestalozzi, - that education depends on the development of the innate potentialities of the individual mind or soul.

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\* Note 37(1): Cf. Hoole - "A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching" (1659) and J. Brinsley - "Ludus Literarius" and Leitch "Practical Educationists"; Edinburgh Review 33 p. 489. And Bell (Russell) p. 342 - Quoted in Appendix.

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\*\* Note 37(2): The controversy between Bell and Lancaster started with a letter from Mrs. Trimmer to Bell (Southey - Bell Vol. II) - "From the time, sir, that I read Mr. Lancaster's 'Improvements on Education', I conceived an idea that there was something in his plan inimical to the interests of the Established Church... and when I read your 'Experiment on Education' I plainly perceived he had been building on your foundation." See also her.... "Comparative View of the New Plan of Education promulgated by Mr. Joseph Lancaster in his Tracts Concerning the Instruction of the Children of the Labouring Part of the Community, and of the System of Christian Education founded by our Pious Forefathers for the Initiation of Young members of the Established Church in the Principles of the Reformed Religion (1805)" The controversy raged for some years, engaging alike pulpit and press - - "Edinburgh Review", "Quarterly Review", "British Review", "The Anti-Jacobin", "The Morning Post", "The Pamphleteer" all devoting much space to it. It became a political issue between Tory-Church and Whig-Dissent side. The controversy is dealt with in Salmo "The Educational Record." Vol. VIII. Nos. 43-45; Vol. XIX



or ideas which he acquires; what knowledge he acquires depends on the teacher whose main duty is to arrange or organize instruction for this "tabula rasa" in the most economical way possible; the child is an adult in embryo. "The mental powers of boys," says Lancaster,<sup>\*</sup> "are similar to those of men, but in embryo. The same stimulus that animates men to action will have a proportionate effect on juvenile minds."

Teaching, in this view, becomes very much a machine process and leads to memory-flogging and verbalism.<sup>\*\*</sup> No doubt Bell and Lancaster's methods were an improvement in many ways over those of the common poorer eighteenth century day-schools, of which Crabbe could write, e.g. in "The Borough," Letter XXIV.<sup>\*\*\*</sup> The picture drawn there may be taken as fairly typical of the hundreds of small schools run in one ill-ventilated room by some poor incompetent teacher, without pretence of learning or even knowledge how to impart the little information he had, and forced to treat the class not as a collective group with a single aim but as a mob of conflicting and unruly members (Cf. Pillans - "Contributions to Cause of Education, 1856").

To improve on this chaotic system Raikes had tried out a mutual method, one child teaching another.

"I endeavour to assemble the children as early as is consistent with their perfect cleanliness - an indispensable rule: The hour prescribed in our rules is eight o'clock..... Twenty is the number allotted to each teacher, the sexes kept separate. The twenty are divided into four classes; the

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\* Note 38(1): "Improvements in Education"(1806) P.179.

\*\* Note 38(2): For its reductio ad absurdum see "Improvements in Education"(1806) p.156 - Quoted in Appendix.

\*\*\* Note 38(3): Quoted in Smith - "English Elementary Education 1760-1902" (1931).



whisper, which may be done without interrupting the master or mistress in their business, and will keep the attention of the children engaged, that they do not play or make a noise."

("R. Raikes: The Man and His Work" by Harris, P.324).

The difference between this reasonable mutual method of instruction as used by Raikes and that used by Bell and Lancaster lay in the degree of systematization: with Raikes it was a means; with Bell and Lancaster it became an end.

Neither Bell nor Lancaster was, in the usual sense, an educational theorist: <sup>\*</sup> both aimed simply at economising the teaching technique of the schools by centralising control, by introducing more order, discipline, efficiency.

"To attain any good end in education," says Bell in "Madras School," (P.10), "The desideratum is to fix attention, to call forth exertion, to prevent the waste of time in school."

....."The entire machinery of the New School is fitted to prevent idleness and offences, to call forth diligence and exertion, and thereby to supersede the flagellation which he (Quintilian) so justly reprobated." "The Master should be a silent bystander and inspector. What a master says should be done; but if he teaches on this system he will find authority is not personal - that, when the pupils, as well as the school-master understand how to act and lean on this system, the system, not the master's vague discretionary uncertain judgement will be in practice." \*\*

That the method had something behind it, that Bell and Lancaster had a very shrewd, though superficial, knowledge of the human material they were working with, is shown by passages

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\* Note 39(1): Cf. Bell - "Abridged Works" p.523, where he sets himself on a level with Pestalozzi (Quoted in Appendix); and Southey - "Bell" III, p.

\*\* Note 39(2): Lancaster - "British System of Education" (1810) P.1



in the system, and felt it so well calculated to promote their welfare, to advance their learning, and to preclude punishment, that they did not require looking after, as they of themselves habitually performed their daily tasks." (p.17.) \*

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"The great advantage of the system is that you have a teacher and an assistant for every class, who have not yet begun their career of pleasure, ambition or interest; who have no other occupation, no other pursuit, nothing to employ their minds but this single object. Add to this your ascendancy and dominion over the young mind is complete and easily maintained; that these children can only do what is assigned to them to do, and succeed better in teaching others, that they themselves know no more than what is level to the capacities of their pupils, and therefore lose no time in teaching what is beyond the comprehension of their scholars, which is often no small impediment and hinderance of education." (p.26).

"If successful, I should indulge the pleasing hope that a rational foundation were laid for forming the characters of children and implanting in the infant mind such principles as might, perhaps, continue through life, check the progress of vice and immorality, meliorate the rising generation, and improve the state of society." (p.29).

Different contemporary views as to the effectiveness of the monitorial system are mentioned or quoted in Appendix II to this Chapter. These include, besides the well known "Reviews" notes by Foster, "Essay on the Evils of Popular Ignorance" (1821); William Allen .....

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\* Note 40(1): On the deceptive simplicity of the teacher's function see Bell - "Abridged Works" pp.424,425. Quoted in Appendix.

\*\* Note 40(2): Cf. Bernard - "Report of S.P.C.K." 1801, Quoted Apper



the Chrestomathic Day School or Chrestomathic School for the extension of the New System of Instruction to the higher branches of learning for the use of the middling and higher ranks of life"; and the powerful body of adverse criticism on this pedestrian education which came from writers like Wordsworth - e.g. "Excursion" IX, 293-302, etc; Coleridge - Biograph. Lit. I.6; and Owen - "New View of Society" (4th Essay) p.74: "It must be evident to common observers that children may be taught by either Dr. Bell's or Mr. Lancaster's system to read, write, account, and sew, and yet acquire the worst habits and have their minds rendered irrational for life..... Either give the poor a rational and useful training, or mock not their ignorance, their poverty and their misery."

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The teacher's function in a monitorial school sank to the lowest level: each class, ranging from 40 to 24 pupils, was under the charge of a "teacher", i.e. a boy from the highest class, and an "assistant teacher", i.e. the best scholar from the particular class which was being taught: the monitors did so much that there was little left for the teacher to do.

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\* Note 41.(1): An effort was made by Bentham, Brougham, Place, etc later to extend the scope of the monitorial system to include secondary education, and the West London Lancasterian Assoc. was formed in 1813. But difficulties soon arose with the British & Foreign Society and the movement died. It was with this in mind that Bentham published in 1816 his "Chrestomethia See Edinburgh Review 1813 Feb.

\* Note 41.(2): For Hazlett's reaction to Bentham's "Chrestomathic School" see "Spirit of the Age" (1825) p.6 and Bowring - "Bentham" VIII, p.18, 24, 25.

\*\*\* Note 41.(3): Cf. Donaldson - "Lectures on Education" p.60 - Quoted in Appendix, and Fitch in "Museum" 1863.

\*\*\* Note 41.(4): Cf. Dewey - "The School & The Child" (1906) pp.44-F for some searching remarks on the safety-reaction of the r to "culling devices and empty exercises" and the pupil's possible substitutes for living motivation.



adopt the new system in all the departments of their schools, especially by teaching every letter, monosyllable, and the syllabic lessons of the spelling book, by writing them on the slate, I shall entertain no good hope....."

Bell, too was not lacking in esteem of his own methods: \*  
he is quoted by Sir Thos. Bernard in "The New Barrington School": \*\*

"It leaves nothing more for me to do. All the world will in time learn every lesson by writing it.... It is completely done at the Barrington School; and all there think it all in all and I think it consummates my labours, and leaves nothing more for me to do."

The limited educational horizon of Bell in particular - Lancaster had a more robust faith in education as a national boon - can be seen from the meanness of his aim in educating the poor:

"It is not proposed that the children of the poor be educated in an expensive manner or even taught to write and cipher..... There is a risk of elevating, by an indiscriminate education, the minds of those doomed to the drudgery of daily labour above their conditions and thereby render them discontented and unhappy in their lot. It may suffice to teach the generality, on an economical plan, to read their Bible, and understand the doctrines of our Holy Religion." (Exp. In Education, p. )1805. \*\*\*

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\* Note 42.(1): Cf. Bell - "Abridged Works" (p.486): "The period is not far distant when the New System of Education will become universal."

\*\* Note 42.(2): Cf. also "Works of A. Bell" Russell (1833)pp.266-7 on Barrington School.

\*\*\* Note 42.(3): Lancaster's attitude to the education of girls was no better. See "Improvements in Education" (1806)p.118. Quote in Appendix.



life is no better than that of rich, hard-bitten, business-men like Mr. Giddy, quoted in Hansard's "Parliamentary Debates" (1807) 1st Series, Vol. IX, Col. 798:

(The system).. "would be found to be prejudicial to the morals and happiness of the labouring classes; it would teach them to despise their lot in life, instead of making them good servants in agriculture and other laborious employments to which their rank in society had destined them; instead of teaching them subordination, it would render them fractious and refractory, as was evident in the manufacturing counties; it would enable them to read seditious pamphlets, vicious books and publications against Christianity; it would render them insolent to their superiors." \*

It was, in fact, one of the obvious theoretic weaknesses of the monitorial system that it was satisfied to school the poor in poverty, without attempting to elevate the poor socially. \*\* Almost all schools of the age were either for the poor or for the rich. \*\*\* Very few tried to break down the barrier, but Rev. John Poole in "The Village School Improved" as described in H. Sandford's

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\* Note 43(1): For Cobbett's view in a similar situation in 1833, see Hansard "Parliamentary Debates" 3rd Series, Vol. XX, Co. 734-5.

\*\* Note 43(2): The same could be said of Pestalozzi; or Rousseau it could be said he educated the rich to poverty.

\*\*\* Note 43(3): Cf. Select Committee on Education of Lower Orders, 1816, p. 282: "Evidence of Rev. Daniel Wilson: Q. 'Do you conceive that the two things united, reading and religious instruction, ever make the poor discontented in their stations, or less obedient to their superiors?' A. 'Unquestionably not. The direct tendency of the two, when united, is to produce those principles that lead to submission, contentment, humility and in fact to all those dispositions and duties to which they are chiefly about to be called in the stations where Providence has placed them. We let nothing from any part of the knowledge we communicate, which tends to foster pride or self-elevation. The very first thing we teach the female children especially is to correct the love of dress, and to lead them to aim at that respect every person acquires who behaves well in their station; and to avoid, on the other hand the contempt to which they will expose themselves by aspiring to that which they can never attain, and which only draws upon them the displeasure of others and the anger of God.'"



"a noble example to country clergymen of the Establishment which is very likely to be followed in many instances."

As to the aim of the monitorial schools, Bell says (Madras School"(1808)p.6): "the acquisition of letters along with morality and religion are the leading objects of Elementary Education;" and again (p.7.): "The ultimate object is to make good scholars, good men, good subjects and good Christians; in other words to promote the temporal and spiritual welfare of our pupils;" while to Lancaster "Improvement in Education"(1806)p.25) the aim was, "to train children in the practice of such moral habits as are conducive to the welfare of society." The rigorous regularity and continuous effort, called forth by school life, were to form in each child habits of hard work and a sense of responsibility and obedience to authority. <sup>\*\*</sup> "Look at a regiment or a ship," says Bell "Madras School," p.312) - "you will see a beautiful example of the system which I have recommended for a simple school..... (In it.....) every boy has his place and every hour its proper business.... and..... there grows up imperceptibly a sense of duty, subordination and obedience....." Or again (p.270-2)

"The hope of reward....., the fear not of corporal pain, but of disgrace, are the effective springs by which the mighty machine is to be moved", and "The smart of bodily pain soon subsides and is forgotten, but the sense of shame strikes close and will not suffer the offender to be at peace, till the fault that occasioned it be obliterated by subsequent meritorious

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\* Note 44(1): Cf. Bell "Abridged Works" p.485 (Quoted in Appendix

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\*\* Note 44(2): Cf. Report, April 1807, of Rector and Trustees of Schools of St. Mary's, Whitechapel, Quoted in Appendix.



and self-government inherent in such forms in the monitorial school as the practice of putting boys into positions of trust,\* of having a jury of boys judge culprits in the black book, etc. But so much stress was placed on emulation that no effort at co-operation could succeed.

The main service rendered by the system was its placing instruction within the reach of many who would otherwise have had none,\*\* and its re-establishing the need for a full-time schooling of the children of the poor, as distinct from that assumed to be adequate by the Sunday Schools and industrial schools.

Within a few years of its full development, the defects of the system raised the sharpest criticism. Thus John Wood in his "Account of the Edinburgh Sessional School" (1828)<sup>p. 144</sup> points out that the system treats children as machines; whereas in fact, each should be studied and special treatment accorded him; mechanism in education counts for almost nothing; school-work must start with the pupil, not with an organized body of knowledge; abolish learning by heart and substitute a full understanding of each part of the instruction; there must be more frequent resort to higher principles, e.g. in arithmetic and even in geography, in which more use should be made of maps.

Already by 1828 R.J. Bryce in "A Sketch of a Plan for a System of National Education for Ireland," (1828), p. 24, can write of the monitorial system: "owing to its inefficacy it has long been on the decline, and in very many places where it was very generally introduced, it is almost entirely extinct. In Glasgow

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\* Note 45(1): Cf. Caldwell Cook - "Play Way": discipline is secured by play in the sense of "the doing of anything with one's heart in it." and see Bell (Murray) p. 423. Quoted in Appendix.

\*\* Note 45(2): Cf. Stow - "Training System," Chapter I.



honesty and social good-will, says in his evidence to the 1810  
"Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders" p.239:

"I consider the facility by which children acquire the common rudiments of learning an unfortunate result of the new system: for as they are now practised, the children too rapidly become possessed of learning, and they have not time to acquire those habits and disposition which have always appeared to me to be of more importance....."†

Even by 1836 elementary schooling in Britain made a poor impression on a foreign visitor like Bache, who in his "Report on Education in Europe to the Trustees of Girard College for Orphans," (1839, Philadelphia), writes: "the elementary schools of Great Britain are, in general, behind those of other countries of Europe with which we are less connected. Desultory and sometimes conflicting efforts at improvement have not made an impression proportioned to the wants of the people of that country, and have left them behind others who have less need of a cultivated intelligence to fulfil the duties of citizens." (p.171)

Again, "The schools for the instruction of the people during week days are still miserably deficient, both in number and kind, and as yet there appears no prospect of concert of effort to bring about a better state of general education." (p.174)

What has been said above concerning the monitorial system may enable us to survey Owen's contribution to education from a better angle, serving as a general standard by which judgement may be passed.

\* Note 46(1): For Bache's views (1839) on other countries see Op.cit. pp.172 (Quoted in Appendix); 158;159; 102;229(Prussia); 291 (Bayreuth); pp.306-310; and Appendix pp.621-2 (Hofwyl.)

† Note 46(2) : Cf.Tate - 'Phily. of Ed.', p.30: 'The school is characterised neither by utility nor by progress..' Cf.Emile, p.57 : 'Do not save time, but lose it'. 'Exercise his body.. but keep his mind idle as long as you can' .



APPENDIX I.

NOTES.



which shall excel in learning portions of Scripture by rote, for a prize or badge of merit; this is giving them an active interest in what they do."

Note 37(1). Russell - "Andrew Bell" (1833)p.342:

Bell had to frame rules for his schools because "some persons professed to find no small difficulty in discovering the precise points wherein the new scheme differed from the common and more ancient methods of teaching; while others, objecting to the details, and especially to the means for exciting emulation and preserving order, began to express doubts whether it was not calculated to produce scholars at the expense of the most valuable among the moral sentiments."

Note 39(1). Bell - "Abridged Works" (P.523).

"In the school of the benevolent Father of the Continental System (Pestalozzi) it (development of faculties) is attempted mainly by lectures and conversation. The maxim is, 'Few books, much thinking.' In our schools it is chiefly effected by minute questioning on every lesson of every book which is read."

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Southey - "Bell" III. p.

"He (Pestalozzi) has much that is original, much that is excellent. If he had a course of study - if he were to dismiss his masters and adopt the monitorial system, and the principles of emulation, he would be superexcellent."



can multiply at pleasure, renders by the division of labour all its operations, in the hands of a man who can direct and employ his numerous ministers, most simple and easy."

and p.425:-

"when this mode of conducting a school is once fully established, it will be found to require no more ability or exertion to carry it on, than it does for a man to carry on any trade in the manner in which he was himself trained."

Note 40(2). Bernard - "Report of S.P.C.K.", 1801.

"Such assistants may be had without expense and at the moment they are wanted. They may be dismissed without any pension from the funds and without any call for that pity which in some cases induces the Governors of Schools to vitiate the whole system rather than discard or supersede unworthy or incapable ushers."

Note 41(3). Donaldson - "Lectures on Education," p.60.

"This system ignores altogether the fact that the work of the teacher is to evolve the powers of the mind, and that for this work a wise and cultivated mind is required. In Prussia there are neither monitors nor pupil teachers, a harmonious evolution of a human being being considered in that country a very important and difficult task; but in Lancaster's eyes this could be done quite well by a boy."

Note 41(4). Dewey - "The School & The Child"(1906)p.44.

"Unpleasant, because meaningless, activities may get agreeable if long enough persisted in. It is possible for the mind to develop interest in a routine or mechanical procedure, if conditions are continually supplied which demand that mode



it tries to content itself with the formal movements that remain to it....."

And ..... "An interest in the formal apprehension of symbols and in their memorized reproduction becomes in many pupils a substitute for the original and vital interest in reality...."

"The second substitute for living motivation in the subject-matter is that of contrast-effects; the material of the lesson is rendered interesting, if not in itself, at least in contrast with some alternative experience. To learn the lesson is more interesting than to take a scolding, to be held up to general ridicule, or fail to be promoted."

Note 42(3). Lancaster: on Education of Girls.

"Is it not common among the lower ranks of society, for the boys to be well educated, and for the girls to be kept in ignorance?" (Improvements in Education"(1806)(p.116))

"The complete education of a female consists in a knowledge of reading, writing, and the elements of arithmetic; the art of cutting out garments, both linen and woollen; various kinds of needlework; a knowledge of the domestic duties of servants; and a familiar acquaintance with the principles of Christianity. (Op.cit.p.118.)

Lancaster commends the same methods for girls as for boys, e.g. a practical training in schools of industry in some suitable work like colouring botanical prints. The unhappy conditions of many women in the Metropolis meet with his sincere sympathy. (Op.cit.p.116): he regards their plight as due mainly to a lack of education.



by the establishment of parochial schools for the education of the people - a truth which, independently of all reasoning, is evinced by the state of morals in countries where the people are educated in the principles of Christianity, compared with other countries, where they are not so educated....."

Note 44(2). Russell - "Andrew Bell" (1833).p.256.

"The chief advantages of Dr. Bell's plan are;

1. It completely fixes and secures the attention of every scholar: the indolent are stimulated; the vicious reclaimed; and it nearly annihilates bad behaviour of every sort.

2. The children make a regular progress in their learning, which is daily noted and registered; no lesson being passed over till it be correctly studied.

3. It saves the expense of additional instructors; the eye of one intelligent master or mistress alone being required to see their agents, the senior good boys and girls, do their duty in teaching the juniors.

4. It not only possesses excellent mechanical advantages in communicating instruction generally, but it is particularly adapted to instil into, and fix practically in the mind, the principles of our holy religion; whilst it materially secures the moral conduct of the children, both in and out of school; and

5. By economizing time, hitherto so lamentably wasted in charity schools conducted on the old plan, it affords ample and very inviting opportunity to add to the ordinary establishment a school of industry."



That no other check sufficiently powerful can be found to counteract the effects of manufactures, trade and commerce, and the vices of increasing luxury and of the societies, communities and governments which are verging towards maturity....."

Note 46(1).    Bache - "Report of Education in Europe." (1839).

"These latter are chiefly characterized by a spirit of system, which exactly regulates the method and amount of what is to be taught, and when it shall be taught, throughout this vast empire."

(p.172).



CHAPTER III.

APPENDIX II.

SOME CONTEMPORARY VIEWS OF THE MONITORIAL SYSTEM.



of Promoting The General Education of the Poor."

"One of the peculiar features of this plan is the extraordinary manner in which the talents of boys are drawn forth, and many instances may be given where young lads, acting upon this system, have evinced energies which are rarely to be met with in mature age. In the Royal Free School, at the Borough Road, a little boy of twelve or thirteen years of age, often commands the whole school, and that with the same ease to himself and with equal obedience from the many hundred children of which the school is composed, as a military officer would experience with a body of well-disciplined troops....." etc.

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"Edinburgh Review" (1807) Vol.XI.62-65 (Sidney Smith):

"Mr. Lancaster has established a sort of paper currency of tickets. These tickets are given for merit - two tickets are worth a paper kite; three worth a ball; four worth a wooden horse, etc."

It is no unusual thing for me to deliver one or two hundred prizes at the same time. And at such times the countenances of the whole school exhibit a most pleasing scene of delight; as the boys who obtain prizes commonly walk around the school in procession, holding the prizes in their hands, with a herald proclaiming before them, 'These good boys have obtained prizes for going into another class.' The honour of this has an effect as powerful, if not more so, than the prizes themselves.

A large collection of toys, bats, balls, pictures, kites, is suspended above the master's head, beaming glory and pleasure upon the school beneath....."



need mention in any other way than that of simple allusion. Of its applicability to the higher, not to say the highest, branches of intellectual instruction, the fullest persuasion is, over and over again, expressed in the works of its illustrious inventor, whose anticipations have, in every point, received such ample and undisputed confirmation from experience."

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Owen - "Life," p.147.

"Knowing and feeling as I did the all-importance of education for the mass, as a preliminary to the ultimate true formation of character....I (encouraged Lancaster & Bell) ....to give even the mite of instruction to the poor which their respective systems proposed to do....."

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Salmon - "Joseph Lancaster": quoting words of George III in 1805.

"Lancaster, I highly approve of your system, and it is my wish that every poor child in my dominions should be taught to read the Bible."

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Foster - "Essays on the Evils of Popular Ignorance." (1821.)

(Lancaster's system) "is worthy to stand... parallel and rival to the most useful modern inventions in the mechanical departments."

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Wm. Allen in "Life of Wm. Allen," in 1808 says:

"I can never forget the impression which the scene made upon me. Here I beheld a thousand children collected from the streets where they were learning nothing but mischief, one bad boy corrupting another, all reduced to the most perfect order and training to habits of subordination, and usefulness and learning the great truths of the gospel from the Bible."



Cf. - also "The Prelude" (passim,) written between 1799 and 1805, and Brailsford - "Shelley, Godwin and their Circle."

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Wm. Cobbett, though a supporter of agricultural and town labourer, opposed the spending of public money on their education, due to his distrust of "Scotch Fellosofers," Benthamites, "the education-mad party," and book-learning and schoolmasters: education should be conducted at home on these principles - - opportunity, suggestion and absence of compulsion. Cf. "Rural Rides." (1885) I. 125.

"If I had been brought up a milksop, with a nurse-maid everlastingly at my heels, I should have been at this day as great a fool, as inefficient a mortal, as any of these frivolous idiots that are turned out from Winchester and Westminster School, or from any of these dens of dunces called Colleges and Universities."

Cf. "Rural Rides." I. 130.

"It is not little books that can make a people good, that can make them moral; that can restrain them from committing crimes. I believe that books of any sort never yet had that tendency."

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Macnab - "New Views of Robert Owen - examined." (1819)p.252, says about Bell and Lancaster:

"The present and future generations will perpetuate their memory with sentiments more elevated and spiritual than those due to the talents of a Watt and an Arkwright."



ment of the elements of knowledge, possesses a simplicity and certainty in its operations, that give scope to the exertions of the quickest mind, while they supply energy and activity to the dullest."

Bernard <sup>(Op.cit.)</sup> describes the advantages of Bell's system:

1. Continued attention (p.21) by exertion (p.25).
2. Thoroughness of learning (p.23,) and retention (p.24).
3. Precise grading by progress (p.26).
4. Firmness of discipline (p.27).
5. Division of labour (pp.35-36) - "The grand principle

of Dr. Bell's system is the Division of Labour, applied to intellectual purposes. The objects are, 'to continue attention without weariness: - to quit nothing until it is distinctly and permanently fixed in the mind, - and to make the pupils the instruments of their own instruction.'

..... "It is the division of labour in his schools that leaves the master the easy task of directing the movements of the whole machine, instead of toiling ineffectually at a single part.

The principle in manufactories and in schools is the same."

Hill - Op.cit., p.71 , quotes evidence of Prof. Pillans before Select Com. on Ed. in England and Wales : 'Many pupils .... 10 years after quitting them (Nat. schools) will be found to have lost the power of reading' . Pillans deplores the 'exclusively religious' cast of the books and instruction .

Glasgow Herald, Apr. 20, 1812 , quoting Owen : 'You may ask , how have we the means now in our power? I reply , our friend here , Joseph Lancaster , has prepared them ready to our hands ; his important improvements and discoveries in education , when properly applied , will enable us easily , cheaply , and



Stow - 'Training System', p.67 : Its faults are due to the work being done by 'lads whose age and limited experience necessarily prevent their exercising that requisite moral influence ... without which education is defective' .



## CHAPTER IV.

## NEW LANARK EXPERIMENT - PART I.



little, if any, misery, and with intelligence and happiness increased a hundred-fold; and no obstacle whatsoever intervenes at this moment, except ignorance, to prevent such a state of society from becoming universal."

Autobiography I. 349.

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Owen's educational work can hardly be said to have started till he found himself in a position to wield authority over his employees.

His own education had been of the flimsiest: he had left school at nine years of age, and all his knowledge he gained by his own efforts unaided, e.g. by reading in his spare time as a draper's assistant. \*\*\* At Manchester, however, for the first time he came under the influence of cultivated minds. "At this period," he says, ("Life" p.49) "there were two institutions which attracted considerable notice in Manchester, and were popular and celebrated each in their way. One was the "Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society," then under the presidency of the late highly respected Dr. Percival. The other was the "Manchester College," under Dr. Baines....."

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\* Note 48(1): Owen's schooling included some work as a pupil teacher - his only experience of practical teaching.

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\*\* Note 48(2): Cf. Holyoake "History of Co-op." (1906) p.32: "His life illustrates how much knowledge a man of observation may acquire without books." Cf. Owen "Life" Ch.I.

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\*\*\* Note 48(3): Cf. Holyoake - "History of Co-op" p.48 on the meagre light thrown on his father by R.D. Owen: "Mr. Dale Owen might have given the world an incomparable life of his father,..... For a period of half a century almost every man in Europe and America engaged in any forlorn hope of progress had communications at one time or the other with Mr. Robert Owen...." p.48.



ely all such records were destroyed by enemy action in 1940. It is, however, fairly certain that in that cultured circle, at this impressionable period in his life, Owen was much influenced by the ideas he heard discussed, whether social, educational or political, and from these meetings some of his own later propositions may have sprung. \*\*

Following his Manchester connection came the most significant part of Owen's career - the New Lanark venture. Of New Lanark a contemporary history says the land for the mills had been feued in 1784 by David Dale, a well-known Glasgow business man and preacher, who had started life as a packman. A visitor to the mills in 1796 has left this account: "Mr. Dale deserves well of his country, dispensing happiness and comfort to many of his fellow creatures by his attention not only to their morals, training them up in habits of industry, instructing them in the necessary branches of education, and instilling into their minds a knowledge of the important truths of Christianity. Four hundred children are entirely fed, clothed, and instructed at the expense of this venerable philanthropist. The rest live with their parents in the most comfortable habitations, receiving wages for their labour. The health and happiness depicted on the countenances of their children show the proprietor of the Lanark Mills has remembered mercy in the midst of gain.

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\* Note 49(1): Cf. L. Stephens - "Eng. Utils." I. 67 Quoted in Appendix

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\*\* Note 49(2): Cf. N.M.W., June 27, 1835, where an anonymous article on "Some Account of the Extraordinary Experiment Mr. Owen made at New Lanark in Scotland," suggests that Owen had experimented before 1800 at Manchester.

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\*\*\* Note 49(3): David Dale - early account in Sydney Smith's "Life and Letters" I.35; Wilberforce - "Correspondence," I.137; H.G. Macnab, "On Owen" pp.65-72, quoting "The British Statesman," Aug. 8, 1819; "Statistical Account of Lanarkshire by Ministers of the Respective Parishes" (1841), pp.12, 22, 23, etc. Quoted in Appendix. "History of Lanark" (1828) pp.165-166, etc. Quoted in Appendix.



the eternal honour of the founder of New Lanark, that out of nearly 3,000 children who have been at work in these mills throughout a period of twelve years, only fourteen have died, and not one has suffered criminal punishment."

(Quoted R.D.Owen - "Treading My Way" p.25)

After some negotiations with Dale, Owen acquired the Mills for his Company, under the name of the New Lanark Trust Company, and he says, ("Life" p.78) "I entered upon the government of New Lanark about the first of January, 1800.

"I say 'government', for my intention was not to be a mere manager of cotton mills, as such mills were at this time generally managed; but to introduce principles in the conduct of the people which I had successfully commenced in Mr. Drinkwater's factory; and to change the conditions of the people, who, I saw, were surrounded by circumstances having an injurious influence upon the character of the entire population of New Lanark."

("Life" p.78).

He now commenced, "the most important experiment for the happiness of the human race that had yet been instituted at any time in any part of the world."

("Life" p.82.)

For the next twenty-five years of his life he was to lavish most of his energy on the New Lanark experiment.

\* Note 50(1): Cf. Trevelyan's opinion of Owen (British History in 19th Century, p.183): "Never was there such a combination as in Robert Owen, of business ability with moral simplicity and earnestness, and visionary insight, occasionally running to the absurd. Brought up in a Welsh county town in the days of Wesley, his destiny lay in wider realms of thought and space, but his mind and character never lost the mark of an upbringing among poor people and among people aspiring earnestly towards an ideal outlook on everyday things...." and "... (Robert Owen) was the first to find the socialistic application of the doctrines of utility. He was the father of factory laws and of the co-operative movement." (Page 183)



part of the experiment, a reformation of the character of the inhabitants was set on foot:

"The population of New Lanark at this period consisted of about 1,300, settled in the village as families, and between 400 and 500 pauper children, procured from parishes, whose ages appeared to be from five to ten, - but said to be from seven to twelve. These children were, by Mr. Dale's directions, well lodged, fed and clothed, and there was an attempt made to teach them to read, and to teach some of the oldest to write, after the business of the day was over. But this kind of instruction, when the strength of the children was exhausted, only tormented them, without doing any real good, - for I found that none of them understood anything they attempted to read, and many of them fell asleep during the school hours." ("Life", p.83).

Of the inhabitants he says: "The profession of religion and attention to its forms and ceremonies, which were strictly observed, were the foundation on which Scotch character and society were formed."

("Life" p.85.)

Again: "The houses of the poor and working classes generally are altogether unfit for the training of young children.....; the children are therefore spoken to and treated in just the reverse of the manner required to well-train and well-educate children. And in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, parents are altogether ignorant of the right method of treating children and their own children especially. These thoughts created in me the first thoughts respecting the necessity of an infant school, to be based on the true principle of forming character from the earliest period at which infants could leave their parents."

("Life" p.115)

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\* Note 51(1): Cf. Brougham's speech in Hansard "Parliamentary Debates" 2nd Series, Vol. II (June 28, 1820) p.65.



were:

1. The short time spent by the children in school as compared with their long hours at home under mainly unsuitable influences.
2. The absence of proper teachers.
3. The leaving of school for the factories by the children at 10 years of age.
4. The formation of wrong habits in the children before ever they entered school.
5. The still incomplete organisation of Owen's system.

These obstacles gradually gave way before Owen's patience, tolerance and kindness, seen, e.g. in his payment of wages during the four months unemployment following the U.S.A. embargo on the exportation of cotton in 1806; his frank avowal of his ideals; his demand for their co-operation - all of these backed by practical measures like the provision of extra housing accommodation,\* removal of ash-pits from before the houses, cleaning of the streets, drawing up such rules for the inhabitants as the whitewashing of each house once per year, washing of stairs, forbidding the keeping of animals in their houses, by watchmen patrolling the streets at night and noting cases of drunkenness, fines being imposed next day on offenders; by settling quarrels himself in a paternal way, and constantly lecturing the people and exhorting them to study the happiness of their neighbours.

Inside the factories he reduced the pilfering of goods by a strict checking system, by the device of the "silent monitor", and by entering complaints in a "book of character". "This act of

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\* Note 52(1): Cf. Owen - "Report to County of Lanark" pp.27-27;p.35.  
Quoted in Appendix.



The village store, established by Dale, was superseded by another run on co-operative principles, food, clothing, even whisky, etc. being supplied at almost wholesale prices, and the profits, usually about £700 per annum, devoted to the education of the village.

Also, he started a savings bank,<sup>and</sup> a benefit society for the sick and aged, each person contributing 1/60th of his wages to the fund.

Pauper children were no longer brought into the mills, and the villagers were the more willing to send their own children there.

Even before now his mind was settled on the all-importance of the formation of right habits from earliest childhood: "I know," he says of this period ("Life" I. 349), "that society may be formed so as to exist without crime, without poverty, with health greatly improved, with little, if any, misery, and with intelligence and happiness increased a hundred-fold; and no obstacle, whatsoever intervenes at this moment, except ignorance, to prevent such a state of society from becoming universal."

He now embarked on a great new educational scheme. He was well aware of the immediate obstacles in his way - the expense, the difficulty of persuading "good commercial men" like his partners to support him, the antagonism of the parish minister, the unwillingness of the parents to send children at the age of two to school, etc.

"In contemplating this new measure, my mind led me to the necessity of making arrangements to well-form the character of the rising population of New Lanark from the earliest period to maturity, as far as a cotton-spinning establishment could be made



There had been accommodation indeed for school purposes since Dale's time, with a schoolmaster to run the school on Lancasterian lines. This did not satisfy Owen: another building, "The New Institution for the Formation of Character" was to be built with facilities for holding school, lectures, concerts, recreation, for the sum of £5,000.

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The figure alarmed his partners and a deputation was sent at once to New Lanark, but, although suspicious, the party did not openly express disapproval. This was left to a second deputation a few months later.

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A new company was formed, and Owen continued with his plan to complete the New Institution, without his new partners being aware of it, for £5,000. A crisis was precipitated, and his partners insisted on auctioning the works. Owen left for London to find new and more congenial partners, and to publish the first of his "Essays on the Formation of Character." He approached philanthropists like Jeremy Bentham, William Allen, John Walker, Jos. Fox, Jos. Foster, etc.

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\* Note 54(1): For the whole question of expense, see note in Appendix.

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\* \* Note 54(2): Described in "Glasgow Herald" for 31st Dec. 1813, which mentions 4 cotton mills, 3 of 7 storeys, 1 of 6; a store-building a machine-shop; a brass & iron foundry. Then of the New Institution, it says:- "There is another building of the following dimensions, at present unoccupied - - 145 feet by 45 feet over the walls, containing a cellar 140 feet long by 19 feet broad and 9 feet high; first floor above the cellar, one room 140 feet by 40 feet by 11 feet 6 inches high; second floor, 140 feet by 40 feet by 21 feet high. This building has been planned to admit of an extensive store cellar, a public Kitchen, eating and exercise room, a school, lecture room, and church. All of which, it is supposed, may be fitted up in a very complete manner for a sum not exceeding £2,500; and this arrangement may be formed so as to create permanent and substantial benefits to the inhabitants of the village, and to the proprietors of the mills."



letter in the "Glasgow Herald", 10th January, 1814:

"There were great rejoicings here yesterday on account of Mr. Owen's return, after his purchase of New Lanark. The Society of Free Masons at this place, with colours flying and a band of music, accompanied by almost the whole of the inhabitants met Mr. Owen immediately before entering into the burgh of Lanark, and hailed him with the loudest acclamations of joy: his people took the horses from the carriage, and, a flag being placed in front, drew him and his friends along, until they reached Braxfield, where his lady and two of her sisters being prevailed upon to enter the carriage, which was uncovered, the people, with the most rapturous exultation proceeded to draw them through the streets of New Lanark, where all were eager to testify their joy at his return.

On being set down at his own house, Mr. Owen, in a very appropriate speech, expressed his acknowledgment to his people for the warmth of their attachment, when the air was rent with the most enthusiastic bursts of applause.

Mr. Owen is so justly beloved by all the inhabitants employed at New Lanark, and by all people of all ranks in the neighbourhood, and a general happiness has been felt since the news arrived of his continuing a proprietor of the mills....."

Owen's own comment on the incident was:

"My new partners seemed to congratulate themselves that they had become connected with such people and such an establishment. It was a day and a proceeding which I shall never forget. It

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\* Note 55(1): The agreement with his new partners was that when 5% profit had been paid, the rest of the profits should be used for education and social welfare. See Fedmore - "Life of Owen", for a full account of the incident.



On 1st January, 1816, the building was formally opened by Owen with an address based on his fundamental notion of the importance of environment:

"What ideas individuals may attach to the term Millen<sup>n</sup>ium, I know not; but I know that society may be formed so as to exist without crime, without poverty, with health greatly improved, with little, if any, misery, and with intelligence and happiness increased a hundred-fold; and no obstacle whatsoever intervenes at this moment, except ignorance, to prevent such a state of society from becoming universal."

("Life" I.p.349.)

In 1812 he had presided at a dinner given in Glasgow in honour of Jos. Lancaster, and Owen's speech that night created a deep impression: "By education," he had said, "... I now mean the instruction of all kinds which we receive from our earliest infancy until our characters are generally fixed and established. It is, however, necessary that the value of the object should be considered as well as putting it into execution. Much has been said and written in relation to education, but few persons are yet aware of its real importance in society, and certainly it has not yet acquired that prominent rank in our estimation which it deserves; for, when duly investigated, it will be found to be, so far at least as it depends on our operations, the primary source of all good and evil, misery and happiness which exist in the world...."

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\* Note 56(1): Cf. - "New Moral World," Part I.p.33. "The proper business of man, hereafter, will therefore be to make himself thoroughly acquainted with 'the science of the influence of circumstances over human nature'; and by a knowledge of this science, he will hold the destinies of future ages, as to their inferiority or superiority, their misery or happiness under his control; and the love that parents have for their children will secure superiority and happiness for all future generations."

\*\* Quoted in Glas. Herald., Apr.20, 1812.



neither. They are wholly and solely the effects of that education which I have described. Man becomes a wild ferocious savage, a cannibal, or a highly civilized and benevolent being, according to the circumstances in which he may be placed from his birth. Let us suppose that, if any given number of children were exchanged at their birth between the Society of Friends and the loose fraternity who inhabit St. Giles in London, the children of <sup>the</sup> former would grow up like the members of the latter, prepared for every degree of crime; while those of the latter would become the same temperate, good moral characters of the former."

(Quoted by A. Cullen - "Adventures in Socialism" (1910) p. 48, the source not being given.)

From this reception he traces his "New View of Society":

"This spontaneous approval by the numerous literary parties present and the reception given to Joseph Lancaster, induced me to write my first four essays on "A New View of Society," and on the formation of Character".

(Life" p. 148)

By 1816,<sup>\*</sup> therefore, when he opened the New Institution, his views were well matured, and of nothing was he more convinced than of the necessity to set children from their earliest days in a sound educational medium. Parents he advised to send their children to school as soon as they could walk, and a room was set apart for them: there was one room for children under four years of age, another for children from four to six years. We have several descriptions of Owen's school and its happy atmosphere. (Quoted later in Chapter on "Contemporary Views of New Lanark.")

\* Note 57(1): Of this period, about 1816, a historian writes: "Robert Owen, who always decried political action, was still at this period a philanthropist employer, not yet a democratic leader. In the first years of peace he was still engaged in trying to persuade his brother employers, the Cabinet and Parliament that improved conditions of life and education in the factories would pay the employer and the nation, as he had demonstrated in his New Lanark Mills. he had been listened to then, we should live in a different world today." (Trevelyan - "History of England" (1959) p. 622.



social good will, and on the other hand the paternalism or tendency to dictate, so irksome to English independence:

"The best to my mind in these respects that I could find in the population of the village, was a poor, simple-hearted weaver, named James Buchanan, who had previously been trained by his wife to perfect submission to her will, and who could gain but a scanty living by his now dying trade of weaving common plain cotton goods by hand. But he loved children strongly and his patience with them was inexhaustible. These, with his willingness to be instructed, were the qualities which I required in the master for the first National infant school that had ever been imagined by any party in any country....." \*\*

".....The first instruction which I gave them (Buchanan and Molly Young) was that they were on no account ever to beat any one of the children or to threaten them in any manner in word or action, or to use abusive terms; but were always to speak to them with a pleasant countenance, and in a kind manner and tone of voice. That they should tell the infants and children (for they had all from one to six years old under their charge) that they must on all occasions do all they could to make their playfellows happy, - and that the older ones, from four to six years of age, should take especial care of younger ones, and should assist to teach them to make each other happy....."

("Life." p.192.)

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\* Note 58(1): Cf. Casual notion of witness on teacher-training in 1816 Select Committee Report on Education of Lower Orders" p.32.  
Q. "What is the time it takes to educate a master?" A. "If a man is clever and active, about six weeks or two months."

\*\* Note 58(2): Owen's poor estimate of Buchanan's ability has been called in question. Cf. "Buchanan Family Records: James Buchanan & His Descendants," printed for private circulation, Capetown, 1923. The balance of evidence is against Owen. Later, Buchanan was succeeded by a boy who had gone through the New Lanark School and "who was full of faculty for the employment and at 16 years of age was the best instructor of infants I have ever seen in any part of the world."  
("Life" p.192.)



"As soon as we succeed in finding the proper method, it will be no harder to teach schoolboys, in any number desired, than with the help of the printing press, to cover a thousand sheets daily with the neatest writing."

We are still far from the modern conception of teaching as the intimate contact between a more mature personality and a less mature, and of the learning process which results as a change in personality leading to a new insight or a new sense of value or developing a new ability: i.e. learning as becoming.\*

With the opening of the "New Institute" we may regard the New Lanark venture as well and truly launched.

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\* Note 59(1): Cf. definition of personality (Morrison - "Basis Principles of Education" p.39) - "Personality is the sum total of what an individual has come to be by learning the cultural products of social evolution."







"At Manchester Thomas Percival (1740-1804) founded the "Literary and Philosophical Society" in 1780. He was a pupil of the Warrington Academy, which he afterwards joined on removing to Manchester, and he formed the scheme afterwards realised by Owen's College.

He was an early advocate of sanitary measures and factory legislation, and a man of scientific reputation. Other members of the Society were : John Ferriar (1761-1815), best known by his "Illustrations of Sterne", but also a man of literary and scientific reputation; the great chemist John Dalton (1766-1814), who contributed many papers to its transactions; and, for a short time, the Socialist Robert Owen, then a rising manufacturer."

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L. Stephen mentions other similar societies, e.g. "Lunar Society " at Birmingham (Erasmus Darwin, Edgeworth, Thos. Day, Priestly, Herschel); Bristol Society (Coleridge, Southey); and Norwich Society (Eng. Util.I. 66-68) Southey, who sympathised with Owen's schemes, visited Owen in 1816 (Southey - "Life and Correspondence" IV.195) and in "Colloquies" I.62 Owen is called "the happiest, most beneficent and most practical of all enthusiasts."

(Eng.Util."II.112.)

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Note 49(3): "Statistal Account of Lanarkshire" by Ministers of  
the Respective Parishes." (1841):

"Among other celebrated men, we must not omit the excellent and pious Mr. David Dale, founder of the village and manufactory of New Lanark; nor his son-in-law, Robert Owen, who here excogitated and made an abortive attempt to reduce to practice, his wild theories for the renovation of society."

(p.12.)



notoriety, under the superintendence of Mr. Robert Owen, son-in-law of David Dale, the original founder. But in 1827, that gentleman ceased to have any interest in the business, which has since been carried on under the firm of Walker and Company.

There are 1110 persons employed in this manufacture, of whom about 60 are mechanics and labourers. Children are not admitted into the factory under ten years of age. The hours of work are eleven and a quarter daily throughout the year, whatever be the state of trade. The people are very comfortably supported, - are, in general healthy, - and in comparison with other establishments of the kind, remarkably decent in behaviour."

(p. 22.)

....."New Lanark is a large and handsome village, lying on the south west of the town. It stands low upon the river side, and is completely surrounded by steep and beautifully wooded hills. It owes its existence to David Dale who built the first mill in 1784. It has always been and still continues a remarkably thriving manufactory."

(p. 23.)

....."The grammar-school once enjoyed high celebrity as a seminary of education..... At New Lanark there is a day school, frequented by about 500 children, who receive instruction in the ordinary branches, more suitable to their rank of life than the ornamental accomplishments to which, under a former management, an exclusive attention had been paid."

....."In general, the people are alive to the benefits of education. There is no part of the parish so distant as to be out of reach of a school, and no additional schools are required."

(p. 27.)



Lanark, founded by Mr. David Dale, for many years under the superintendence of the noted Robert Owen, and now belonging to the firm of Walker and Company. Upwards of 1,100 persons are employed in the establishment; and the neatness of the buildings for both the mills and dwellings, - the beauty of their situation amid the most interesting scenery of the Clyde, - the cleanliness and order with which they are kept, - and the judicious regulations for the comfort and moral decency of the operatives, - render it one of the most interesting factories anywhere to be found. The Blantyre Spinning Mills, originally founded likewise by Mr. Dale, employ 458 persons, and are also under very judicious management....."

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"History of Lanark" (1828).

....."When the building commenced, Mr. Dale procured a number of boys, whom he equipped in complete dresses of brown cloth, with red collars to their coats, and sent them to Crumford to receive instructions in cotton spinning. Such success attended these speculations, that a second Mill was built in 1788."

(p. 165.)

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....."A great proportion of the original inhabitants of the village were Highlanders....."

(p. 165.)

....."Changes were then frequent, so that, with a view to remedy this evil, Mr. Dale formed the plan of apprenticing a number of boys and girls and thus training them up for the work. In all this the education of the young mind was one of his primary objects. Suitable teachers were provided and the evenings were spent in reading, writing and accounts. A uniformity of dress particularized both sexes; but the idea of servitude operated powerfully



his pupils, and walk with them to church on Sunday. (p. 166.)

It is mentioned that in 1781 a ship bound from Skye for North America was driven into Greenock, and that most of the passengers accepted Dale's offer of employment at Lanark.

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Note 52(1): Owen - "Report to County of Lanark," pp.27-28.

"A large square, or rather parallelogram, will be found to combine the greatest advantages, in its form, for the domestic arrangements of the association. This form, indeed, affords so many advantages for the comfort of human life, that, if ignorance respecting the means necessary to secure good conduct and happiness among the working classes had not prevailed in all ranks, it must long ago have become universal. It admits of a most simple, easy, convenient and economical arrangement for all the purposes required.

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"The meals were to be served in spacious, well-lighted, and pleasantly ventilated apartments, and in the society of well-dressed, well-trained, well-educated and well-informed associates, possessing the most benevolent disposition; and, if desirable habits can give zest and proper enjoyment to meals, then will the inhabitants of the proposed village experience all this in an eminent degree."

(Op.cit. p.35.)

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Note 54(1):

The expense of Owen's system was higher than that of the monitorial schools - the cheapness of the latter being one of their main recommendations. Thus in the 1816 Select Committee Report, (p.32), a witness, asked, "Can you give the Committee an estimate of the expense of teaching 500 children?" answered, "The room being given, I conceive 4/2d. per head abundantly sufficient."



"I saw that it was an instruction programme which would benefit not only to this country but to the whole world; I saw a system in action capable of affording instruction to poor children at the expense of from 5/- to 15/- per head per annum, according to the magnitude of the school, ranging from a thousand to a hundred boys; indeed a school of a thousand might be conducted at the expense of only four shillings and sixpence per head per annum."

Owen's attitude is very sound: in answer to the question whether the expense of the New Lanark plan is not "considerable," he says, (1816 Report, p.241):

"It is apparently; but I do not know how any capital can be employed to make such abundant returns, as that which is judiciously expended in forming the character and directing the labour of the lower classes."; and he quotes as for a school of 700 pupils, taught partly by day, partly in the evening, these figures:-

1 Superior Master	£250	p.a.
10 Assistant Masters	£30	each
Light, heat, etc.	<u>£150</u>	
	<u>£700</u>	- i.e. 20/- per child p.a.

Thus, for a child educated from the age of three to ten years, the cost would be "£7 each, for forming the habits, dispositions and general character, and instruction in the elements of every branch of useful knowledge; which acquirements would be of more real value to the individual and through him to the community, than any sum of money that at present it would be prudent to state."

(p. 241.)



beneficial to the individual and to the community." A proper school building to house 500 - 600 children would cost £1,000, but it would require to be more amply staffed than had been the common practice:

....."I contemplate a material change from the present practice; I would recommend the schools to have a much greater number of masters." (p.241.)

Q. "Does not this sacrifice the great advantage of the new plan, which consists in enabling one master to teach a great number of children?"

A. "I consider that circumstance to be a defect in the present system; it is impossible, in my opinion, for one master to do justice to children, when they attempt to educate a great number without proper assistance."

Q. "Suppose in any one town where two day schools may be established, one upon one principle, do you apprehend that that exclusive plan can have any bad effects?"

A. "Yes."

Q. "What are they?"

A. "I consider the children would be necessarily trained in some degree, in opposition towards each other, and not in those principles of cordiality to each other, which would be so beneficial in general society; and therefore that one general system of instruction would be far more beneficial." (p.242.)

In Owen's school the day pupils paid 3d. per month, the evening pupils nothing. This was the practice recommended by many, e.g. a witness in 1816 Select Report (p.41) says: "I cannot but strongly recommend to the attention of the Association to ad the principle of cheap day schools rather than charity schoo"



thousands of subscribers willing to contribute towards the rearing of their own offspring at a cheap rate but who possess an honest pride above gratuitously educating them, and yet unless they feel an interest, will not subscribe."

Q. "Do you mean that as much as possible of the current expenses should be defrayed by small sums received from the scholars?"

A. "I believe that by the Lancasterian or Madras system, a school room filled with scholars is fully capable of defraying the expenses of that school, at the payment of a penny a week per child; and I think that a people educated independently from their own funds, must be very superior to a nation of charity children."

(p.44.)



the main statements, viz.: Dean "Life" pp. 240-242; 1842; 11; evidence given by Owen before 1843 "Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders" pp. 250-252; evidence given by Owen before the Select Committee on The State of the Children employed in the Manufactories of the United Kingdom," 1844 25; The other accounts of the New Lanark schools, e.g. J.H. Owen's "Outline of the System of Education at New Lanark" 1841 and W.B. Beattie's "The New View of Mr. Owen, Imperfectly Examined" (1841), etc. are dealt with elsewhere; in particular in Chapter on "Contemporary View of New Lanark."

## CHAPTER V.

### NEW LANARK EXPERIMENT - PART II.

Continuation of my account and of Owen's charges accounts ("Life" pp. 134-135) :-

"I had now completed and furnished according to my new mode of instruction by sensible signs and familiar observation, the first institution for the formation of the infant and child character - the infants being received into it at one year old, or as soon as they could walk."

The parents at first could not understand what I was going to do with their little children at one year of age, but seeing the results produced, they began to give up their infants at one year old and inquired if I could not take them yet younger.

I charged the parents, that it might not be considered a proper school, therefore my mother, and all around that held this view willingly...."

1845. "The children were content and obedient without punishment or any fear of it, and were still in school by the time their usual things I have ever seen."

The infants and young children, besides being instructed by Mr. Tolpelt - High of Carmarthen, and the first schoolmaster - but he took with him a few more children.



the main statements, viz.: Owen - "Life" pp.240-243; p.319 ff; evidence given by Owen before 1816 "Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders" pp.238-242; evidence given by Owen before the Select Committee On The State of the Children employed in the Manufactories of the United Kingdom," p.22 ff. The other accounts of the New Lanark schools, e.g. R.D. Owen's "Outline of the System of Education at New Lanark" 91824) and H.G. Macnab's "The New Views of Mr. Owen. Impartially Examined" (1819), etc. are dealt with elsewhere, in particular in the Chapter on "Contemporary Views of New Lanark."

Meantime we may extract one of Owen's shorter accounts ("Life" pp.186-193) :-

"I had now completed and furnished according to my new mode of instruction by sensible signs and familiar conversation, the first institution for the formation of the infant and child character - the infants being received into it at one year old, or as soon as they could walk.

The parents at first could not understand what I was going to do with their little children at two years of age, but seeing the results produced, they became eager to send their infants at one year old and inquired if I could not take <sup>K</sup> them yet younger.

I charged the parents, that it might not be considered a pauper school, threepence per month....., and of course they paid this most willingly....."

p.186. "The children were trained and educated without punishment or any fear of it, and were while in school by far the happiest human beings I have ever seen.\*

The infants and young children, besides being instructed by

\* Cf. Holyoake - 'Hist. of Coopn.', p.43 :Owen was the first publicist to 'look with royal eyes upon children' .



to come and see their children at any of their lessons or physical exercises.

But in addition there were day schools for all under twelve years old, after which age they might, if their parents wished, enter the works, either as mechanics, manufacturers or in any branch - for we had iron and brass-founders, forgers, turners in wood and iron, machine makers, and builders in all branches, having continually buildings to repair and erect and machinery on a large scale to repair and renew....."

(p.193) "The children were not to be annoyed with books; but were to be taught the uses and nature or qualities of the common things around them, by familiar conversation when the children's curiosity was excited so as to induce them to ask questions respecting them.....

.....The schoolroom for the infant instruction was... furnished with paintings, chiefly of animals, with maps, and often supplied with natural objects from the gardens, fields and woods, - the examination and explanation of which always excited their curiosity and created an animated conversation between the children and their instructors, now themselves acquiring new knowledge by attempting to instruct their young friends, as I always taught them to think their pupils were, and to treat them as such."

And:

"It was most encouraging and delightful to see the progress which these infants and children made in real knowledge, without the use of books. And when the best means of instruction are known, I doubt whether books will ever be used before children attain their tenth year. And yet without books they will have a superior character formed for them at ten, as rational beings, knowing themselves and society in principle and practice, better



the errors and prejudices of ignorance and with a want of knowing how to apply practical measures to bring truth and knowledge into the common affairs of life! Here, with the most simple means as agents, two untaught persons, not having one idea of the office in which they were placed, or of the objects intended to be attained, accomplished, unknown to themselves, results which surprised, astonished, and confounded the most learned and wise and the greatest men of their generation....." (pp.193-194 ff.)

From his accounts, several key principles can be observed:

(1) All harshness in the treatment of children is to be eschewed. "The children," says R.D.Owen ("Outline of System" etc. p.9.) "are governed not by severity but by kindness." This is fundamental in a school which is to provide real moral training.\*\*\*

(2). There were to be no rewards or punishments except "the natural" ones.\*\*\* The children are to be "excited, not by distinctions, but by creating in them a wish to learn what they are to be taught."\*\*\*\*

\* Note 62(1): Cf. Wilderspin - "System" p.13... "love is the grand agent we employ".. and "the sympathy of goodness is no less infectious than that of evil."

\*\* Note 62(2): Cf. a fine passage in Wilderspin - "System" p.29 Quoted in Appendix; and Locke ~~Thoughts~~, Quoted in Appendix.

\*\*\* Note 62(3): See Note on punishments in Lancaster's system - Quoted in Appendix. On the difficulties involved in the notion of natural punishments. "conformity to nature", etc. see Herbert Spencer - "On Education" Chap.2, and Introd. by F.A. Cavanagh p.XXIX; Boyd - "Educat. Theory of J.J.Rousseau," pp.342-3 on the limitations of the principle; Laurie - "Educational Opinion from Renaissance," Ch.16. Cf. Rousseau - "Emile" p.63: "Children should never receive punishment as such; it should always come as the natural consequence of the fault" - (i.e. discipline by natural consequences) As Boyd observes (Op.cit.p.127) the fundamental difficulty lies in man's "double" nature as a "natural" man and as a citizen. "Either society should be reconstructed in such fashion that the natural man can find in it a congenial environment for the development and exercise of his native capacities; or if such a reconstruction of society is not feasible, the child should be so educated that he can live under unsatisfactory social conditions, and yet remain true to himself as a creature of nature..." In this latter case "it is assumed that nothing substantial can be done to improve society, and that the reconciliation of interests can only be effected by modifying the man-in-himself so as to adapt him to society without making him unnatural." This is the solution offered in "Emile."

\*\*\* Note 62(4): Cf. Locke - "Thoughts on Education", §43, §47, §48. Quoted in Appendix.



"Every action whatever must, on this principle, be followed by its natural reward and punishment; and a clear knowledge and distinct conviction of the necessary consequences of any particular line of conduct, is all that is necessary.... to direct the child in the way he should go; provided common justice be done him in regard to the other circumstances which surround him in infancy and childhood. We must carefully impress on his mind how intimately connected his own happiness is with that of the community."

("Outline" p.12.)

Of the method used by others, R.D. Owen says (p.15):

"Artificial rewards and punishments are introduced; and the child's notions of right and wrong are so confused by the substitution of these, for the natural consequences resulting from his conduct - his mind is, in most cases, so thoroughly imbued with the uncharitable notion, that whatever he has been taught to consider wrong, deserves immediate punishment; and that he himself is treated unjustly, unless rewarded for what he believes to be right; - that it were next to a miracle, if his mind did not become more or less irrational: or if he chose a course, which, otherwise, would have appeared too self-evidently beneficial to be rejected."

In any case, says R.D. Owen, punishing children is a method which defeats itself. Now the tendency is to seek out the psychological source of any misconduct, and try to remedy that.

"Let us suppose a set of children, overawed by the fear of punishment and stimulated by the hope of reward, kept.... during the presence of their teachers in ... "trim order"....; will these children, we ask, when the teacher's back is turned, and this artificial stimulus ceases to operate, continue to exhibit the same appearance? Or are they not more likely to glory in an opportunity



other, and that, therefore, rewards and punishments are employed to induce them to follow duty at the expense of pleasure, can we expect that such individuals should in after life hesitate to reap present gratification from any line of conduct, not immediately followed by artificial punishment? For that is a criterion of right and wrong, which had been brought home to their feelings in too forcible a manner to be quickly forgotten or easily effaced..."

(p.23.)

....."Obstinacy and wilfulness are often fostered even in generous minds, by a feeling of independence, in rejecting what is attempted to be forced upon them. And public opinion confirms this feeling..."

(p.23.)

Owen's views on punishment follow logically from his acceptance of determinism: if this is true, praise and blame are meaningless. But, though we admit that the behaviour of animals is determined, we still find praise and blame to be useful in training them. Herbert likewise regards our acts of will as determined by desires, but this does not lessen the feeling that each of us possesses a self which is free. On the whole subject, Hardie, ("Truth and Fallacy in Educational Theory" pp.46-47) seems to strike the right view:

"It seems to me important that educationists should hold a deterministic theory of some kind, not only because of its truth, but also because of the tendency at the present time which leads some educationists to urge that teachers should be much less active than Herbart advocated. They urge that 'spontaneous activity' should be encouraged in the child so that he may express his individuality. By this they appear to mean that the child should do things which are caused directly by his 'inner nature', rather than that desires should be aroused in him which would then lead him to do things. But we have seen that we cannot separate the self from the desiring self



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that which increases the happiness of the whole community or a majority of it.

"If happiness be 'our being's end and aim', and if that which promotes the great end of our being be right, and that which has a contrary tendency be wrong - then have we obtained a simple and intelligible definition of right and wrong. It is this: "Whatever, in its ultimate consequences, increases the happiness of the community, is right; and whatever, on the other hand, tends to diminish that happiness, is wrong."

("Outline", p.12.)

Here the difference between Owen and Rousseau is almost complete. Owen says: reason with the child; show him which course of action is right, i.e. which conduces to the happiness of the majority. Rousseau, on the other hand, says: do not reason with the child, because no reason can be given for a truly moral act: "a good action is only morally good when it is done as such and not because of others." (Emile, p.69) - one of the astonishingly clear and profound dicta of the book.

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\* Note 65(1): Cf. Boyd - "Educational Theory of Rousseau" p.343. "If he (Emile's tutor) acts as the representative of a community, - which is surely the only justification for anyone taking the responsibility of rewarding and punishing upon himself - then the expression of the praise or the blame of the community is an essential part of the act of requital done by him. He cannot confine himself to merely natural reactions." Boyd:- "there is much to be said for the method when applied in proper limits but it is no more and no less a social method than any other."

\*\* Note 65(2): Cf. Owen - "New Moral World" I. (p.51) : "The object of human existence, as of all that has life, is to be happy; and the highest attainment of human wisdom is to know how to obtain and to secure that degree of happiness which can be most permanently enjoyed."



has done: society is to blame.

....."Men are made to be what they are, by their organization and the external circumstances which act upon and influence it. None are or can be bad by nature; their education is always the business or work of society and not of the individual. The individual is thus, evidently, a material of nature, furnished and fashioned by the society in which it lives, according to the ignorance and intelligence or the knowledge of human nature which that society has been made to possess, and by the influence of other external circumstances with which the individual may be surrounded."

("New Moral World" I.p. 57.)

Owen's view is put in a slightly modified form by his son. (Outline. pp. 15-16) in this passage: "A child who acts improperly is not considered an object of blame, but of pity. His instructors are aware that a practical knowledge of the effects of his conduct is all that is required, in order to induce him to change it. And this knowledge they endeavour to give him. They show him the intimate, inseparable and immediate connection of his happiness with that of those around him ....."

"In cases where admonition is necessary, it is given in the spirit of kindness and of charity, as from the more experienced to the less experienced. The former, having been taught wherein self-interest consists, are aware that, had the individual who has just been acting improperly, had the knowledge and the power given him, to form his character, he would, to a certainty, have excluded from its composition such feelings as those in which his offence originated; because that knowledge would have informed him, that these were only calculated to diminish his own happiness. The presence of those feelings would constitute the surest proof that the knowledge and the power had been denied him."



which they now possess. The term bad will convey the idea only, that the individuals to whom it is applied have been most unjustly and ignorantly treated by the society in which they have been trained and educated; that, in consequence, they call upon us, individually, for our pity and deep commiseration, and upon society, to remedy the evil with the least pain or inconvenience to the injured parties. Terms of reproach or abuse will no longer be applied to them....." And a modern psychologist of repute seems to agree with the gist of Owen's argument: Ward - "Psychology Applied to Education" (1926) pp.123-124: "I really think that if the whole notion of culpability were to disappear and we came to regard the young as imperfect but not blameworthy - much as Robert Owen regarded every offender - the mischief that would ensue would hardly be greater than that now caused by our overwrought notions of moral responsibility. Children are not responsible, as you and I are, they are not wicked as you or I may be, they can acquire an interest in well doing just as they can acquire an interest in knowledge, and will grow in wisdom as surely as they grow in stature, if only their minds are as wisely nurtured as their bodies.

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..... The conditions of interest are the same in the two cases. Tasks adapted to their present power of control, success, encouragement, help. Ideas with which failure, pain and disheartening anxiety or fear are associated, will never be welcomed into consciousness, but will be kept out of mind as much as possible; and when these ideas enter they will depress and discourage, rather than brace for cheerful exertion. In directing the young, then, to gather moral lessons from their own experience, we should, where we can, take these from their successes, rather than from their failures, and let hope and encouragement accompany even the severest rebukes; above everything, avoiding those vague and general references to desperate

\* Cf. Perry - 'Gen. Theory of Value', p.27, p.209, p.362; Hocking - Op. cit. pp.270-271 (quoted App.II.v).



interest to the child, and there is a limit to the time a child's interest can be held. ("Outline", pp.25-26):-

"What the children have to learn, is conveyed to them in as pleasant and agreeable manner as can be devised. The subject is selected and treated, with a view to interest them as much as possible.\* In the lectures, to which we shall presently have occasion to allude, if the interest or attention is observed to flag, the teacher looks to the lecture itself, and to his manner of delivering it, rather than to the children, to discover the cause. It is on this principle, that sensible signs and conversation are made the medium of instruction, whenever it is practicable; and this plan, dictated by nature, has been found to be eminently useful....."

"Their attention is never confined too long to one object: a lesson for the day scholars in any particular branch, never exceeding three quarters of an hour....."(Cf. Bellers -Op.cit.p.173)

"No unnecessary restraint is imposed on the children; but, on the contrary, every liberty is allowed them, consistently with good order and attention to the exercise in which they may be engaged."

Owen is here on the edge of the vast field of theory on "interest" which was about to be elaborated by his immediate successors.\*\* As usual, Owen's view is justified pragmatically: if instruction is interesting, it will work: it is the same view as in Spencer's "Essays" (Everyman Edn.)p.51: "The rise of the

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\* Note 68(1): Cf. Dewey - "The School and the Child" (1906)pp.116-117 on the principles of selection of material of instruction. Quoted in Appendix.

\*-x Note 68 (2): Cf. Spencer - 'On Ed.',p.34 , on 'antecedent experience of things'



(6). A tired mind cannot learn: long hours of work in a factory cannot be followed by effective learning. \*\*

Owen was alive to the deep impression which could be made upon a child by pleasing or beautiful surroundings in his everyday life. "To take the children out to become familiar with the productions of gardens, orchards, fields and woods, with the domestic animals and natural history generally, is an essential part of the instruction to be given to the children of the working classes; and this was the practice in my time at New Lanark. ("Life" p.380) But it can be seen from this that his views of education through aesthetic experience are strictly tempered by the useful. \*\*\*

The child's attention is not to be strained to breaking point. There must be variety in the time-table and children must not be kept too long in the school itself. He agrees with Caldwell Cook's denunciation of "sit-stillery."

\* Note 69(1): Cf. Emile, p.81. "Present interest, that is the motive power, the only motive power that takes us far and safely." Cf. Hebart - "Science of Education" (trans. Felkin) pp.121-199; p.138: "To be wearisome is the cardinal sin of instruction.... if it cannot always wander in pleasant valleys, it can train on the other hand in mountain climbing and reward with the wider prospect." "Advanced Montessori Method." (Vol.I, p.5.) Froebel - "Education by Development" (trans. by Jarvis) p.4ff.: the idea of the child as a "part-whole" is the "heart" of education.

\*\* Note 69(2): Cf. 1816 Select Committee on the state of Children employed in Manufactories... "p.118: Q. "When a child is found sitting in the mill, is not that contrary to the rules?" A. "Certainly; I expect them to be at work." Q. "The whole day?" A. "Yes; the master will not notice it, if the work is in a proper state."

\*\*\* Note 69(3): Cf. Comenius - "Great Didactic" (trans. by Keatingell) 1717 for a similar view on benefit to pupils of gardens, etc. attached to the school.



years stress should be laid not on the subjects such as reading, which call for extensive use of "artificial signs" but on those which are real and significant to the child, e.g. parts of his environment which arouse his interest. "It has been deemed necessary in order to meet the wishes of the parents, to commence teaching the children the elements of reading at a very early age; but it is intended that this mode should, ultimately, be superseded at least until the age of seven or eight, by a regular course of natural history, geography, ancient and modern history, chemistry, astronomy, etc. on the principle that it is following the plan prescribed by nature, to give the child such particulars as he can easily be made to understand, concerning the nature and properties of the different objects around him, before we proceed to teach him the artificial signs which have been adopted to represent these objects. It is equally impolitic and irrational at once to disgust him by a method to him obscure or unintelligible, and consequently tedious and uninteresting of obtaining that knowledge which may, in the meantime, be agreeably communicated by conversation, and illustrated by sensible signs....."

("Outline," p.35.)

Wilderspin accepts this keystone of Owen's method - and indeed of all modern method - at least in his theory. \*\*\* "Much of the time of the little pupils should be devoted to the constant examination and

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\* Note 70(1): Comenius - "Great Didactic" Ch.18, p.28. "Men must, as far as possible, be taught to become wise by studying the heavens, the earth, oaks and beeches, but not by studying books; that is to say, they must learn to know and investigate the things themselves, and not the observations that other people have made about the things. We shall thus tread in the footsteps of the wise men of old, if each of us obtain his knowledge from the originals, from things themselves and from no other source."

\*\* Note 70(2): Cf. Emile, p.133. "Never substitute the symbol for the thing itself signified unless it is impossible to show the thing itself."

\*\*\* Note 70(3): But how far Wilderspin can lapse is seen in the last part of a criticism of the weaknesses of education of the time - "System" (p.12). Quoted in Appendix.

\*\*\* Note 70(4): Influence seen also of course in Wilderspin e.g. "System" (p.12). Quoted in Appendix. Cf. Combe on Verbo-latry. Speech, from, North



(8). The various steps in promotion should be clear cut and well coordinated: the infants were received when "one year old or as soon as they could walk" ("Life"p.186); after two or three years they were moved to the upper school, where they were taught the three 'R's', sewing, etc. till the age of ten. \*

Some children, according to the parents wishes, remained two or three years longer, and acquired an education, "which well prepares them for any of the ordinary active employments of life." ("Life" p.187). Those who left at ten years of age could attend evening classes for one or two hours per day, great pains being taken to avoid monotony in the evening classes, e.g. by including recreational activities. On Sundays the day school was open for an hour and a half both in the forenoon and the afternoon, while in the evening the regular Sunday School was open to children and adults. \*\*

(9). In religious teaching, tolerance should be the key-word. In the 1816 Select Committee Report on Education, p.241, Owen was asked: "What has been your practice with reference to religious instruction?", and answered simply: "That no child has been asked to learn any particular religious creed, contrary to the wishes of its parents." \*\*\*

And in his evidence before the 1816 Select Committee on the State of Children in the Manufactories, when asked, "What instruction

\* Note 71(1): Each day there was a fair amount of recreation "for an hour or two" e.g. dancing, singing, playing on a musical instrument. Cf. Rev. T.T. Walmsley of The National Soc. in evidence to "1816 Select Committee on Education of Lower Orders" p.31.

\*\* Note 71(2): For details of ages, hours of attendance, etc. see note in Appendix.

\*\*\* Note 71(3): Cf. "New Moral World" 1.39-42: "the evils of religion are due to the rejection of Owen's eleventh proposition" and "Life" I.4: "It was with the greatest reluctance, and after long contests in my mind, that I was compelled to abandon my first and deep-rooted impressions in favour of Christianity.... But my religious feelings were immediately replaced by the spirit of universal charity - not for a sect or a party or a country or a colour, but for the human race, and with a real and ardent desire to do them good."



Great as have been the obstacles encountered, says R.D. Owen, the system has more than justified itself.\*

"But an experiment has been made under every disadvantage - what has been done in school has been counteracted without, - (for most of the parents..... do not yet comprehend the utility of this mode of instruction, and have continued their system of rewards and punishments); the teachers themselves have discovered the practice of the system by degrees; it has been attacked and denounced even by those who had been connected with it - has been cramped by imperfect arrangements; and checked by a mixture of the old with the new principles and practices, inseparable from a first trial; - and yet the result, much as it falls short of what, under different circumstances, might have been obtained, has been, in a very high degree, satisfactory. No such result has been produced in any similar institution; it is a result, too, which is obtained in the most agreeable manner, both for the instructors and the instructed, without repressing a single generous feeling, and without incurring the risk of abandoning the schoolboy to the world, either as a determined violator of law and of principle, or as a mean, undecided, dispirited character, equally afraid to do wrong, and unwilling to do right."

("Outline of System of Education"  
p.27. )

\* Cf. Holyoake -Op.cit.,p.35, quoting letter of Owen to 'Times' (1834), on the New Lanark achievement .



## APPENDIX I.

FURTHER ACCOUNTS OF OWEN'S EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE.



"I told him (Father Oberlin) the Plan which I pursued was a very simple one, and was obtained by a close and accurate study of human nature, not from books (for these were very generally worse than useless), but from the infant, child, youth or man, as formed under a false fundamental principle, as was evident by the entire past history of the human race. To form the most superior character for the human race, the training and education should commence from the birth of the child; and to form a good character they must begin systematically when the child is one year old. But much has been done rightly or wrongly before that period. From that age no child should be brought up isolated. Every child should now be placed in the first division of a school for infants of from one to three years of age, and from thirty to fifty in number, - the latter number easily to be superintended by a properly chosen female - ..... In this first division the foundation of a good and rational character may be easily laid, by attending to the formation of every habit, to their manner, their disposition, and their conduct to each other; and in this respect I gave them but one rule or lesson for practice, and that was, from their entrance into the school, to endeavour to make each other very happy..... These children to be well trained and educated, should never hear from the teacher an angry word, or see a cross or threatening expression of countenance. The tone of voice and manner should be, impartially to them all, kind and affectionate. They should be out of doors in good air at play, as much as their strength and their age will admit. When beginning to be tired of play in their playground, they should be taken within the schoolroom, and amused by the teacher, by showing and explainin-



themselves, will always amuse each other without any useless childish toys. In our rational infant school at New Lanark, a mere child's toy was not seen for upwards of twenty years. When, however, any infant felt inclined to sleep, it should be quietly allowed to do so.

Punishment, in a rationally conducted infant school will never be required, and should be avoided as much as giving poison in their food.

The second division, from three to six, should continue to be treated in the same manner, except that their walks into the country should be frequent, and the objects brought to them for examination and explanation should be advanced in interest in proportion to the previous acquirements of the children, and to their age for better understanding them.

Books in infant schools are worse than useless. But at six, so trained and educated, a solid foundation will have been formed for good habits, manners, disposition, and conduct to others, and so far, a consistent and rational mind will be given, varying in many particulars in different individuals but all good and natural, according to their respective organizations.

No marks of merit or demerit should be given to any; no partiality shown to any one. But attention to each should be increased in proportion to natural defects or deficiency of any kind, physical or mental. 'I see by your school,' I continued, 'that it is after this age that you, like other masters of schools, receive your pupils. But to a great extent the character is made or marred before children enter the usual schoolroom.....' I therefore proceeded and stated that infants so treated, trained and educated from one year of age, would at six compare without disadvantage, in mind, manner and conduct with young persons as usually treated, trained and educated with books, at ten and twelve years of age and even yet older.....



one to three, in which school the affections of the children were secured to their instructors; and that, when their affections were obtained, the children will always with pleasure to themselves exert their natural powers to their utmost extent. This result is most easily obtained by commencing the formation of character from one year of age, with numbers about the same age united. When human nature shall be understood by the public, the advantages of this early formation of character will be duly appreciated, and every child when a year old will be placed in a rational infant boarding school.

The good benevolent man eagerly inquired if there were any such infant boarding schools, - for I told him that mine were day schools only, and were in consequence imperfect for the formation of the best character which could be formed; but that society was not yet so far advanced as to admit of the best character being formed. This, I told him, could be obtained only under an entire change of society in spirit, principle and practice. He said, - 'Do you think that change can ever be effected?' I replied that my settled conviction was that it could; that I saw all the steps in practice by which the change could be made in peace and most advantageously for every individual of every class and rank over the world; and that I should never cease in my efforts to forward this change as long as life and health would admit..... "

R. Owen - "Life", p.319 ff.

"That which I introduced as new in forming the character of the children of the working class may be thus stated :-

1st. - No scolding or punishment of the children.

2nd. - Unceasing kindness in tone, look, word and action to all the children without exception, by every teacher employed, so as to create a real affection and full confidence between the teachers and



the teacher and the taught, and the latter always allowed to ask their own questions for explanations or additional information.

4th. - These questions to be always answered in a kind and rational manner; and when beyond the teacher's knowledge, which often happened, the want of knowledge on that subject was at once to be fully admitted, so as never to lead the young mind into error.

5th. - No regular indoor hours for school; but the teachers to discover when the minds of the taught, or their own minds, commenced to be fatigued by the indoor lesson, and then to change it for out-of-door physical exercise in good weather; or in bad weather for physical exercise under cover, or exercises in music.

6th. - In addition to music, the children of these work-people were taught and exercised in military discipline, to teach them the habits of order, obedience and exactness, to improve their health and carriage, and to prepare them at the best time, in the best manner, when required, to defend their country, at the least expense and trouble to themselves.

They were taught to dance, and to dance well, so as to improve their appearance, manner and health. I found by experience that for both sexes, the military discipline, dancing, and music, properly taught and conducted, were powerful means to form a good, rational and happy character; and they should form part of the instruction and exercise in every rationally formed and conducted seminary for the formation of character. They form an essential part of the surroundings to give good and superior influences to the infants, children and youth, as they grow towards maturity.

7th. - But these exercises to be continued no longer than they were useful and could be beneficially enjoyed by the taught. On the first indications of lassitude, to return to their indoor mental lessons, for which their physical exercises had prepared them, and to



are rationally treated.

8th. - To take the children out to become familiar with the productions of gardens, orchards, fields, and woods, and with the domestic animals and natural history generally, is an essential part of the instruction to be given to the children of the working classes; and this was the practice in my time at New Lanark.

9th. - It was quite new to train the children of the working class to think and act rationally, and to acquire substantial knowledge which might be useful to them through after life.

10th. - It was quite new to place the child of the working man within surroundings superior to those of the children of any class, as was done in a remarkable manner at New Lanark, by placing them during the day in the first and best institution for the formation of the character of the children of work-people ever thought of or executed. "

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R. Owen - Evidence given before the "1816 Select Committee on Education of the Lower Orders" - pp.238 - 242.

Q. Have you adopted the new mode of education among them, and upon what plan?

A. I have adopted a combination of the Madras and British and Foreign system, with other parts that experience has pointed out.

Q. What is your opinion of the advantages of the new plan?

A. That it gives great facility to children to acquire a knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic, and the girls sewing; these acquirements are learned in a much shorter time on the new than on the old plan.

Q. What is the result of your observation, with respect to the comparative advantages and disadvantages of the two modes adopted by the National Society, and the British and Foreign School Society?



other respects I do not think there is much difference..... The  
says Madras system is superior in teaching reading owing to the  
"distinct manner in which they pronounce the words and to the manner  
also in which the attention of the children is directed to the whole  
subject," since "they are necessarily obliged to attend more to every  
detail before them, than is required from the children under the  
British and Foreign system."

Q. Did you observe any difference in the manners and looks of  
the children attending these different schools, indicative of the  
superior knowledge or obedience in the one compared with the other?

A. I have been very much interested with the general appearance  
and manner of the children under the two opposite systems; I have of  
ten been pleased with the performance of the children in Baldwin's -  
gardens, and I have been particularly pleased with the appearance of  
the children in a large school in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, under the  
British and Foreign system."

This was due to.... "the longer time the children attend the  
school at Newcastle, than is customary for the children to attend  
in the school in Baldwin's gardens; there are no manufactories in  
the neighbourhood of Newcastle to induce the parents to withhold the  
children from attending the school, and I found upon enquiry that the  
children remained in this school about four years upon an average,  
while in other situations in the manufacturing districts, at  
Manchester and Leeds, the children do not remain upon the average  
longer than three or four months." He says they generally stay at  
Newcastle for 2 to 4 years.

Re appearance ..... "I have found a considerable difference to arise  
from the manner in which the school was conducted, either by the  
master or mistress, or the parties who interested themselves in the  
general superintendence of the school."



and write?

A. I consider the facility with which children acquire the common rudiments of learning, an unfortunate result of the new system; for, as they are now practised, the children too rapidly become possessed of learning, and they have not time to acquire those habits and dispositions which have always appeared to me to be of more importance than the acquirement of those rudiments of learning.

Q. Has it fallen at all in your way to observe, whether knowledge very speedily acquired, is more readily lost and forgotten than that which is acquired somewhat more gradually?

A. Yes, I think it is much more speedily lost when it has been rapidly acquired. In confirmation of this opinion, from experience, I have been led in the establishment at Lanark, to receive children at the age of three years, principally for the purpose of preventing them acquiring bad habits, which they would have done, if they had been permitted to ramble in the streets among children who were ill instructed, and whose habits were bad; and also for the purpose of giving them good habits, and for settling the knowledge they acquire more firmly in their minds; they are continued in the school afterwards for seven years.

Q. Have you found the parents are too apt to take children out of school as soon as they can perform the mechanical parts of reading and writing fluently, and, as the parents think, exceedingly well, without perhaps having their minds much opened?

A. I have found that practice very generally to prevail.

Q. Do you think it would be an improper sacrifice with respect to mere reading and writings, if a child were not to advance so very rapidly in them as to induce its parent to take it away before its mind were in a measure opened and its good habits tolerably well formed?



being rapidly instructed in reading and writing, particularly when no attention has been given on the part of the superintendent to form their dispositions and habits.

Q. What is the plan adopted by you?

A. The children are received into a preparatory or training school at the age of three, in which they are perpetually superintended, to prevent them acquiring bad habits, to give them good ones, and to form their dispositions to mutual kindness and a sincere desire to contribute all in their power to benefit each other; these effects are chiefly accomplished by example and practice, precept being found of little use and not comprehended by them at this early age; the children are taught also whatever may be supposed useful, that they can understand, and this instruction is combined with as much amusement as is found to be requisite for their health, and to render them active, cheerful and happy, fond of the school and their instructors. The school, in bad weather, is held in apartments properly arranged for the purpose; but in fine weather, the children are much out of doors, that they may have the benefit of sufficient exercise in the open air. In this training school the children remain two or three years, according to their bodily strength and mental capacity; when they have attained as much strength and instruction to enable them to unite, without creating confusion, with the youngest classes in the superior school, they are admitted into it; and in this school they are taught to read, write and account, and the girls, in addition, to sew; but the leading object in this more advanced stage is to form their habits and dispositions. The children generally attend this superior day school until they are ten years old; and they are instructed in healthy and useful amusements for an hour or two every day, during the whole of this latter period. Among these exercises and amusements, they are taught to dance; those who have good voices, to sing; and those among the boys who have a



school, and are put into the mills or some regular employment. Some of the children, however, whose parents can afford to spare the wages which the children could now earn, continue them one, two or three years longer in the day school, by which they acquire an education, which well prepares them for any of the ordinary active employments of life. Those children who are withdrawn from the day school at ten years of age and put into the mills or to any other occupation in or near the establishment, are permitted to attend, whenever they like, the evening schools, exercises and amusements, which commence as from one to two hours according to the season of the year, after the regular business of the day is finished, and continue about two hours; and it is found that out of choice about 400 on an average, attend every evening. During these two hours there is a regular change of instruction, and healthy exercise, all of which proceed with such order and regularity as to gratify every spectator, and leave no doubt on any mind of the superior advantages to be derived from this combined system of instruction, exercise and amusement. The 400 now mentioned are exclusive of 300 who are taught during the day. On the Sunday the day scholars attend the school an hour and a half in the morning and about the same time in the afternoon; and in the evening, scholars as well as their parents and other adults belonging to the establishment, attend when either some religious exercises commence or a lecture is read, and afterwards the regular business of the evening Sunday school begins. These proceedings seem to gratify the population in a manner not easily to be described, and, if stated much below the truth would not be credited by many. Inspection alone can give a distinct and comprehensive view of the advantages which such a system affords to all parties interested or connected with it."



"Instruction," says Owen (p.22) is given

"To the children from three years old, upwards; and to every other part of the population that chose to receive it."....."There is a preparatory school into which all the children from the age of three to six, are admitted at the option of the parents; there is a second school in which all the children of the population, from six to ten, are admitted; and if any of the parents, from being more easy in their circumstances, and setting a higher value on instruction, wish to continue their children at school, for one, two, three or four years longer, they are at liberty to do so; they are never asked to take the children from the school to the works."

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"When the schools were opened, it was not considered sufficient that attention should be paid merely to instructing the children in what was called the common rudiments of learning, that is reading, writing, arithmetic, and the girls also in sewing, but it was deemed of much greater importance that attention should be given by the masters to form the moral habits of the children, and their dispositions; and in consequence, the moral habits of the children have been improved in such a manner as that from the first of January last to the time I left the establishment, about a week ago, out of 200 and about 20 children who are in school in the day, and 300 and 80 or 90 who are in school at night, there has not been occasion to punish one single individual; and as the school is arranged upon such principles as are calculated to give the children a good deal of exercise and some amusement, the children are more willing and desirous of attending the school, and the occupations which they are engaged in there, than of going to their ordinary play....." (P.25).



than at others at no great distance....."

Cites example of man getting higher wages elsewhere, then coming back

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Q.(P.23) "What length of time, per day, at school, do you conceive would be necessary to give boys common instruction in reading and writing?"

A. "Under the best system I have ever witnessed, at which indeed I was present this morning at the National School, the children are taught to read not only well but better than any other children I have heard, not only in a small number but in the gross, in twelve months."

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"I have no pretensions whatever to the discovery of any new principles; indeed I have no pretensions, nor do I make any pretensions of any kind, even with regard to practice; only I have attempted to put old principles into practice, perhaps under some varied, or as some people suppose, new combinations..... It, (his principle) is merely from my long experience in superintending a great number of people, young persons in particular, I found that, by adopting certain measures, a very great improvement may be made upon their habits and general conduct, by applying principles of prevention of error.....; and seeing how much happiness the people have experienced under this kind of arrangement, I am now very anxious that those benefits should be generally extended over the whole Kingdom."

"The principles surely cannot be imagined to be new, when I state that they are simply to endeavour to impress upon all the children committed to my care, as far as possible, the benefit and advantage of acquiring sentiments of charity for the opinions



For a general summary of Owen's political position in relation to bringing about the educational reforms, see the 1818 "Memorial of Robert Owen... to the Allied Powers assembled in Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, in behalf of the Working Classes:", with its three main points:-

(1) "That the period is arrived, when the means are obvious by which, without force or fraud of any kind, riches may be created in such abundance and so advantageously for all, that the wants and desires of every human being may be more than satisfied."

(2) "That the period has arrived, when the principles of the science are become obvious, by which without force or punishment of any kind, the rising generation may be, with ease and advantage to all, surrounded by new circumstances which shall form them into any character that society may predetermine; and if any defect shall afterwards appear in those characters, except what nature has made uncontrollable by human means, the cause will not be in the individuals, but will be solely owing to the inexperience of the parties who attempt to put those invaluable principles into practice."

(3) "That it is the interest.... of each individual in every rank in all countries, that judicious measures should be adopted, with the least delay to secure these beneficial results. It is, however, greatly to be desired that they should be carried into effect by general consent, gradually and temperately, in order that no party or individual may be injured by the changes which must necessarily arise."



## CHAPTER V.

APPENDIX 2.

NOTES.



Aims of Education are:

- (1) Vigour of body. § I.
- (2) Virtue in the soul. § 33.
- (3) Knowledge. § 94 , § I47.

"To bring a young man to submitting his appetite to Reason, I know nothing which so much contributes as the Love of Praise and Commendation..... Make his mind as sensible of Credit and Shame as may be: and when you have done that, you have put a principle into him which will influence his actions when you are not by.... and which will be the proper stock whereon afterwards to graff the true principles of Morality and Religion."

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Note 62(2): Wilderspin - "System", p.29.

Since poor children go to the factories soon after the age of six, "it is therefore, self-evident that such schools are, and must be, schools for moral training. This is a new view, which it is the most difficult to impress upon the public; a positive institution for moral training is a new idea to them; with them, education of the humbler classes never meant more than reading, writing and accounting, and making a bow for boys; and reading and spelling, with sewing and sampler work, and making a courtesy for the girls....."

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Note 62(3): Lancaster, Op.cit, pp.100-106, shows he used a wide variety of fairly severe punishments, most of them depending for their effect on the application of the ridicule of the whole school upon the offender. It is very doubtful if any of the ingenious punishment devices could possibly be justified now, e.g. using shackles, tying a log round the offender's neck; putting him in a sack and tying it to the roof; confining after school; tying him in a blanket and leaving him to sleep on the floor in the school-



"A great severity of punishment does very little good, may great harm in education, and I think it will be found that cet. par. these children who have been most chastised seldom make the best men."

"The usual lazy and short way by chastisement and the rod which is the only instrument of government that tutors generally know or ever think of, is the most unfit of any to be used in education." §47.

"And therefore, I cannot think any correction useful to a child where the shame of suffering for having done amiss, does not work more upon him than the pain." §48.

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Note 68(1): Dewey - "The School and the Child. p.120, etc."

"The activity of the child in the earlier period is directly productive, rather than investigative. His experiments are modes of active doing - almost as much so as his play and games.... It is thus clearly distinguished from experimentation in the scientific sense ..... where the aim is the discovery of facts and verification of principles."

4 - 8 years. "This stage is characterized by directness of social and personal interests, and by directness and promptness of relationship between impressions, ideas and action. The demand for a motor outlet for expression is urgent and immediate. Hence the subject matter for these years is selected from phases of life entering into the child's own social surroundings, and, as far as may be, capable of reproduction by him in something approaching social form - in play, games, occupations, or miniature industrial arts, stories, pictorial imagination and conversation. At first the material is such as lies nearest the child himself, the family life and its neighbourhood setting; it then goes on to



and then extends itself to the historical evolution of typical occupations and of the social forms connected with them. The material is not presented as lessons.... but rather as something to be taken up into the child's own experience, through his own activities, in weaving, cooking, shop-work, modelling, dramatic plays, conversation, discussion, story-telling, etc. These in turn are direct agencies. They are forms of motor or expressive activity. They are emphasized so as to dominate the school programme, in order that the intimate connection between knowing and doing, so characteristic of this period of child life, may be maintained. The aim, then, is not for the child to go to school as a place apart, but rather in the school so to recapitulate typical phases of his experience outside of school, as to enlarge, enrich, and gradually formulate it."

(P.117.)

8 - 12 years..... "the aim is to recognize and respond to the change which comes into the child from his growing sense of the possibility of more permanent and objective results, and of the necessity for the control of agencies for the skill necessary to reach these results. When the child recognizes distinct and enduring ends which stand out and demand attention on their own account, the previous vague and fluid unity of life is broken up. The mere play of activity no longer directly satisfies. It must be felt to accomplish something - to lead up to a definite and abiding outcome..."

(P.118.)

"Hence... the problem is, as regards the subject-matter, to differentiate the vague unity of experience into characteristic typical phases, selecting such as clearly illustrate the importance to mankind of command over specific agencies and methods of thought and action in realizing its highest aims. The problem on the side of method is an analogous one: to bring the child to recognize the



methods of work and enquiry as will enable him to realize results for himself."

(P.118.)

Note 70(4): Wilderspin - "System." P.57.

"If mothers only knew how much good they might do, by seizing the proper opportunity to give their young charge instruction from the objects of nature....."

Combe on "Verbolety": P.31.

"You will understand that by Secular instruction, I mean something much beyond reading, writing, arithmetic and the catechism. Reading, writing, and arithmetic are merely the means of acquiring knowledge; and one of the great causes why the schooling that has been given to the people has been so unproductive of improvement in their condition, is that it has consisted chiefly of words and not of things; and words disjoined from things are mere empty sounds."

(From Speech at a meeting in Glasgow in 1851, from North British Daily Mail - Quoted Jolly - "Combe" p.31.)

"Hitherto education has been conducted too much on the principle of looking at the world from the window of the school-room and the college, and teaching the names of beings and things in a variety of languages, to the neglect of the study of the beings and things themselves....."

(P.70.)

Note 70(3): Wilderspin - "System" P.12.

"Children have been crammed into rooms to the number of two hundred and upwards; no playground has been attached to the premises; no means taken for the physical education of the children.....; no garden, nor flowers, nor fruit, to teach them respect for private property....."



35	25	or 3 years	old.
27	19	" 4	" "
29	30	" 5	" "
27	21	" 6	" "
34	22	" 7	" "
26	24	" 8	" "
30	23	" 9	" "
38	34	" 10	" "
<u>246</u>	<u>198</u>		

Total 444 children from 3 years - 10 years of age

(279 " " 6 " - 10 " " )

These were taught by ten or eleven day teachers, and in the evening by about a dozen teachers. There was one teacher for each class and a special teacher for each of the subjects of singing, dancing and drilling.

The hours of attendance were:

In summer for older classes:-

7.30 till 9 a.m.

10 a.m. " 12 noon.

3 p.m. " 5 p.m.

and in winter:

7.30 till 9 a.m.

10 a.m. " 2 p.m. with a break of half an hour.

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For infants of 2 to 5 years of age, the hours were:-

7.30 a.m. till 9 a.m.

10 a.m. " 12 noon.

12 noon till 5 p.m. recreation in playground.



adopted because the anticipatory responses which it arouses coincide with the unfulfilled or implicit phase of a governing propensity ..... Interest or purposive action must be actively selective , tentative , instrumental , prospective and fallible ' .  
Id., p.362 : 'To be valuable means to be object of interest' .

To secure interest in the curriculum , Dewey makes it a widening circle from the child's interest in himself and his environment ; Decroly makes up a programme based on the needs of man for shelter , food , protection and work .



great . 'I said to the public , 'Come and see and judge for yourselves' . And the public came -- not by hundreds but by thousands annually.....At this period the dancing , music , military discipline and physical training , were especially attractive to all except 'Very pious ' Christians ..... ' (Life, I.p.I43). 'The institution .... was considered by the more advanced minds of the world one of the great <sup>est</sup> modern wonders... ' (Life,p.200). 'And truly those who were trained from infancy through these schools were by far the most attractive and best and happiest human beings I have ever seen.....' .(Life, p.205).

Of the peculiarly happy atmosphere at New Lanark and of the vivid impression it left on many visitors there are many contemporary accounts , e.g. :

J. Griscom - 'A Year in Europe' ,II.385, New York, 1823 : '...They appeared perfectly happy, and as we entered the little creatures ran in groups to seize their benefactor by the hand....'

J. Smith - 'Excursions in Scotland in 1820', London, 1824 , quoted in 'New Existence',V.37 : '.... It has been a great object with Robert Owen to extinguish the government by fear. .... with what delighted looks they met him... ... there was a harmony in all their intercourse, of which I can scarcely speak too highly'.

Guardians of the Poor in Leeds ( 'Mr Owen's Establishment at New Lanark a Failure! !, as proved by Edward Baines,M.P., and Other Gentlemen deputed with him ... to visit and inspect that Establishment' , Leeds, 1838: '... dispensing more happiness than perhaps any other institution in the



convince the most sceptical to how great an extent the amelioration of the manufacturing population may be carried..... training up the children from earliest infancy by such a gentle but at the same time systematic course of education as .. cannot fail to render them very valuable members of society' .

A.J. Hamilton of Dalzell : 500-700 acres of land at Motherwell should be let in order to form an 'establishment on Mr. Owen's plan which would supersede the necessity of erecting a Bridewell for the county' . (quoted by Cullen - 'Adventures in Socialism', pp. 130-131, and extracted from Minute Books of County of Lanark). Later a meeting of 53 Lanarkshire gentlemen at Hamilton on Apr. 19, 1821, prepared petitions to both Houses of Parliament ('The Economist', 26th Apr. 1821) to consult Owen on the steps to be taken to alleviate 'the general distress' .

'New York Statesman', 20th May, 1826 , quoted in 'New Harmony Gazette', I.317 , and in 'New Existence', V.40-41 :

'Among other articles were large historical charts , covering the walls of the apartment, a folio volume of topographical delineations of the principal towns in Scotland, -- a terrestrial globe six feet in diameter -- , and a



as he passed..... '

criticism

Of unfavourable ^ there was a large volume \*, much of it from Church sources , but very little directed explicitly at his educational theory or practice : e.g.

'London Times' , 22nd Aug. 1817 : 'The curtain dropt yesterday upon Mr. Owen's drama , not soon , it is probable , to be again lifted up ... Mr. Owen promised a paradise to mankind; but as far as we can understand , not such a paradise as a sane mind would enjoy , or a disciple of Christianity could meditate without terror'.

Rev. W. McGavin - 'The Fundamental Principles of the New Lanark System exposed', Glasgow, 1824 , in which he impugned almost all Owen's main propositions, e.g. the 'passivity of man' (page 19) : 'This is a matter of individual consciousness , of which every man may judge for himself, and if any man shall tell me that he is not conscious of the activity of his own mind , and of the voluntariness of his own actions I shall consent that you make him a spoke in one of your wheels' .... 'The truth is that human nature .. being in a

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Some of the criticism was flippant, e.g. Hazlitt - 'Spirit of the Age', p.24 .



Another point , to discredit Owen -- Dale would not have tolerated 'such a state of degradation and wretchedness ' (p.51) as Owen had claimed to have found in New Lanark.

Rev. J. Aiton - 'Mr. Owen's Objections to Christianity and his New View of Society and Education refuted by a plain Statement of facts , with hint to Archibald Hamilton of Dalzell', Edinburgh, 1824 : '...No doubt these acquire-

ments (dancing and drill) , especially when aided by two bands of music and three fiddlers, enable the children to make a tolerable appearance on a field day before strangers ; but they prove of no practical utility to them in after life, unless the New Lanark establishment shall become, which is not likely , a seminary to which the world may in the future be indebted for a liberal supply <sup>of</sup> expert dancing-masters , agile opera-girls, active drill-sergeants, strolling jugglers, and many other equally indispensable members of society. However much their tartan dresses , healthy appearance , ... tend to warm the heart and to suppress all suspicion of chablatanry , still the painful recollection recurs that they cannot spell , and can scarcely read. Allowing that the system of education could be fully acted upon , the effect of it would be to bring the boys into the mills at twelve years of age,



is proper that the world should be undeceived with regard to Mr. Owen's bold assertions concerning the results of the experiments.. Much imposition has been practised upon the public by a perpetual reference to New Lanark mills for a proof and illustration of the success of his schemes and of the actual commencement of a 'new society'. A dangerous <sup>attempt</sup> <sub>^</sub> would indeed have been made , But for reasonable interference , to suspend entirely religious and moral culture , and to give the children a smattering of knowledge of some showy things for the sake of display before strangers . It is needless to say how children , educated in this way, would be acting their part as useful members of 'old society' " .

'The Times', 25th July, 1817 , quoted in 'Life', Ia. 72-73 : Owen published imaginary criticism of his views and his own answers, the main theme being : 'Will not your model village of cooperation produce a dull uniformity of character, repress genius, and leave the world without hope of future improvement ? ' .

In an altogether different category from the foregoing is the publication of Dr. H.G. Macnab , sent by the Duke of Kent in 1818 to see New Lanark --- 'The New Views of Mr. Owen of Lanark impartially examined as Rational Means



Leeds deputation (pp.98-110); and 'The Address of Mr. Owen's Committee, published Aug.23,1819' (III-124).

As some of Macnab's work is quoted elsewhere , e.g. in Podmore's biography , only the salient points will be noted here .

'The children and youth in this delightful colony' , wrote Macnab (p.136), 'are superior in point of conduct and character to all the children and youth I have ever seen .... beautiful fruits of the social affections displayed in the young, innocent and fascinating countenances of these happy children and youth . The pen of a Milton and the pencil of a Rubens could not do justice to such a picture.....'

'The day-school is composed of children between the ages of two and ten , to the number of about 360, who are divided into five classes .... The youngest or infant class are of course occupied only in those amusements which are suitable to their age , playing about in the area before the school when the weather admits it , under the charge of a male or female superintendent, and whose principal office it is to encourage amongst them habits and feelings of goodwill and affection towards each other.

The remaining four classes are taught , besides the usual branches of elementary learning , music vocal and instrumental, dancing and the military exercise. The girls are taught sewing and knitting,... and the boys will be instructed in gardening and agriculture , and the girls will attend in rotation at the public kitchen , in order to acquire some knowledge of domestic economy ..... (It has been proved) that a system combining amusement with instruction , and conducted under such influence



of which dancing and music form a principal part ,.....'

He mentions also the provision of garden-lots, a new public garden , surrounded by a belt of planting , and 'a spacious walk for the recreation of the work-people', and refers to Owen's opinion that health and happiness in and industrial community require a combination of 'manufacturing with agricultural labour' .

Here at last , says Macnab, have we a hope of counteracting the 'diseases' of society , of which symptoms were to be found in 'our dungeons filled with criminals, our gaols with debtors, our poorhouses with wretched objects of all descriptions, and our streets and villages with scenes of human misery ; while the dreary dwellings of the indigent exhibit to the view ..... a still more aggravated picture of distresses and sufferings , which are never witnessed without shocking the feelings of humanity' (quoting Colquhoun- 'On Indigence', p.184).

The public , says Macnab, should not be misled by Owen's statements of a religious or social heterodoxy into shelving his whole system : 'of all men I know , he is among those incapable of being practically advocates of disorder'. (p.25).

It is hardly to be expected that a man of such devout views as Macnab would see eye to eye with an agnostic like Owen ; but at any rate , wherever a fundamental difference appears , Macnab smoothes it out as far as possible, even at the risk of forfeiting logical consistency, e.g. on p.31 : '..it is difficult to believe that he has not traced the relations from the... great First Cause to the works of



He praises New Lanark in the highest terms as a model community : '... more of the social virtues and less of the reigning vices .. than .. in any (other) community..' (p.49)

On Owen's autocratic methods, see p127.

His most fundamental points are made on Owen's theses that: (a) 'man has individually no share whatever in forming his own character ' ; and (b) 'self-interest should be the great principle of human actions' (p.176)... 'The rational principle is formally rejected as a rule of life : accordingly the sovereign principle of duty forms no part of the political or moral code of laws in the New Views '.

In fact Owen does not regard self-interest as a rule of conduct , but the interest of the group -- not even the interest of a group like a nation, but that of mankind as a whole .

Also , despite the importance of inherited characteristics, which are however modifiable , man's conduct is , as <sup>governed</sup> Owen says in the passage quoted by Macnab , by his ideas and habits : but these are in fact most open to the influence of his own will and can be most readily shaped by him to his own ends .(Cf. Macnab, p.185).

He sums up his opinion of the New Lanark system thus : '... a system ... new, just and unrivalled.. . He seems to have discovered the indispensable necessity of exercising the active dispositions of children, and of gratifying their curiosity agreeably to those laws manifested by nature... He discovered the wonderful influence of kindness, affection and love on the innocent minds of children..... ' (p.215). 'Mildness and goodwill in the teachers and in the scholars , care-



psychological system, Macnab says (217) : 'By a judicious and constant discipline of the benevolent affections, he commands the will . He next renders habits fixed and strong by repetition which become... a kind of second nature in his pupils...'

Two comments may be made : (1) It is not at all certain that Macnab has interpreted Owen's view correctly. (2) Habit is not a principle which can explain conduct : it is itself conduct, not ~~the~~ motive-force of conduct , Cf. McDougall, 'Outline of Psy.', p.181.

There remain, therefore , the psychological difficulty of the place of habit , and the ethical difficulty of the place of duty , in Owen's scheme. According to Macnab, (p.226), Owen means by the term interest the well-being of men acting on a principle of duty...it is his opinion that the real interest of man is inseparably connected with his duty and that in all cases in which duty is not the motive and interest the consequence duly understood, self-interest cannot , nor should it be regarded, as a civil or moral principle of conduct". He quotes Owen's 'Report to the Committee of the Association for the Relief of the Poor' (page 10), in support of this interpretation. It is, however, at variance with Owen's own accounts , e.g. in N.M.W. III.1 and III.49: for Owen duty consists in furthering the happiness of the greatest number : there is extension beyond the self of the range of persons whose happiness or good is sought : this duty has certainly not the narrowness of self-interest ; there is something due from every person in the group to every other, and each is to be treated as an end , not as a means. (Cf. T.H.



as usual, with meeting the requirements of everyday conduct.

On pp. 221-224 Macnab has left one of the best contemporary accounts of the daily routine of the New Lanark school.



recommended by superior minds, from the earliest period of history. I have no claim to priority, in regard to the combination of these principles in theory; this belongs, as far as I know, to John Bellars, who published them, and most ably recommended them to be adopted in practice, in the year 1834.... His work appeared to be so curious and valuable, that, on discovering it, I have had it reprinted, verbatim, in order to bind up with the notes I have written on the same subject.

## CHAPTER VI.

### OWEN'S EDUCATIONAL METHODS.

'True education is practicable by a true philosopher'  
(Spencer - 'On Education', p.27).

'We should proceed from the empirical to the rational'.  
(Id. , p.83 , and Welton - 'Logical Bases of Education', p.264.)

Something he owed to Bell and Lancaster: he says (Report to Country of Lanark, p.26) that it was "a combination of what appears to be the best parts of the National and Lancasterian systems with some little additions which have suggested themselves."

\* Note 78(1): Hannah - "The New Views of Education - Experimental Education..." (1839), p.58. Her father, who was a member of the Committee for raising a College of Education (1833), in 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 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2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 2681, 2682, 2683, 2684, 2685, 2686, 2687, 2688, 2689, 2690, 2691, 2692, 2693, 2694, 2695, 2696, 2697, 2698, 2699, 2700, 2701, 2702, 2703, 2704, 2705, 2706, 2707, 2708, 2709, 2710, 2711, 2712, 2713, 2714, 2715, 2716, 2717, 2718, 2719, 2720, 2721, 2722, 2723, 2724, 2725, 2726, 2727, 2728, 2729, 2730, 2731, 2732, 2733, 2734, 2735, 2736, 2737, 2738, 2739, 2740, 2741, 2742, 2743, 2744, 2745, 2746, 2747, 2748, 2749, 2750, 2751, 2752, 2753, 2754, 2755, 2756, 2757, 2758, 2759, 2760, 2761, 2762, 2763, 2764, 2765, 2766, 2767, 2768, 2769, 2770, 2771, 2772, 2773, 2774, 2775, 2776, 2777, 2778, 2779, 2780, 2781, 2782, 2783, 2784, 2785, 2786, 2787, 2788, 2789, 2790, 2791, 2792, 2793, 2794, 2795, 2796, 2797, 2798, 2799, 2800, 2801, 2802, 2803, 2804, 2805, 2806, 2807, 2808, 2809, 2810, 2811, 2812, 2813, 2814, 2815, 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recommended by superior minds, from the earliest period of history. I have no claim to priority, in regard to the combinations of these principles in theory; this belongs, as far as I know, to John Bellars, who published them, and most ably recommended them to be adopted in practice, in the year 1696..... His work appeared to be so curious and valuable, that, on discovering it, I have had it reprinted, verbatim, in order to bind up with the papers I have written on the same subject." (Cf. 'Life' Ia, pp.155-181)

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Thus Macnab quotes Owen's "New View of Society," extracted from the London daily newspapers of 30th July, and 9th and 11th August, 1817. Owen is not claiming any special originality: any claim to that he goes out of his way to leave to John Bellars. Owen is more concerned not with whether his views are original, but, as usual, with whether they are true. Perhaps Owen gained some of his ideas from his visits in 1818 to the schools of Girard at Fribourg, Von Fellenberg at Hofwyl, and Pestalozzi at Yverdon.\*\*  
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Something he owed to Bell and Lancaster: he says (Report to County of Lanark, p.26) that it was "a combination of what appears to me the best parts of the National and Lancasterian systems with some little additions which have suggested themselves." Elsewhere he

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\* Note 73(1): Macnab - "The New Views of Mr. Owen - Impartially examined.." (1819), p.55. For Bellars, see his work "Proposals for raising a Colledge of Industry" (1695). In "Life" p.331, Owen mentions F. Place finding a pamphlet (150 years old) by John Bellars of which Owen later published and distributed 1,000 copies.

\*\* Note 73(2): Owen did not know of the only other infants school of the time - J.F.Oberlin's at Ban de la Roche, for which see chapter on "Owen's Influence on Infants Schools."

\*\*\* Note 73(3): Cf. a hostile critic, Rev. John Aiton in "A Refutation of Mr. Owen's System", p.11; "His mode of education is a jumble of Dr. Bell's and Mr. Lancaster's, with hints from M. Fellenberg, Pere Girard, Pestalozzi and others."  
Cf. Owen's evidence before Peel's Committee, 1816, p.26. Q. "Is there anything peculiar to your system of education?"  
A. "I do not know that I can state anything peculiar in my system; it is a combination of what appears to me the best parts of the National and Lancasterian systems, with some little additions which have suggested themselves."



special name, and did not think it worth while giving any special reference.

The question of his originality need not detain us: we can be reasonably sure from the independence of his other views, that any ideas he had, he owed mainly to his own working out in experience.\* He was not a reader: he was not even a listener; he was least of all a discussor in the sense of trying to confute other's opinions: his method seemed to be to reach a deduction, confirm it to his own satisfaction, then repeat it and keep repeating it to convince others. His system will be above all practicable.\*\*

In any case, there is nothing revolutionary about Owen's methods, in the way in which we might talk of some of the exponents of modern individual methods; the existing system was not to be overturned, but to be improved: much is simply kindly commonsense set in an orderly scheme, and no doubt had been familiar enough practice in the better fee-paying elementary schools (not those for the poor) for many years. What is impressive perhaps, is how clear Owen's ideas about methods and aims seem to have been, as compared with the vagueness of so many of his contemporaries. But Owen's clearness of educational aim is due to the clearness of his

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\* Note 74(1): For Buchanan's possible contribution, see Chapter on "Owen's Influence on Infants Schools."

\*\* Note 74(2): Cf. Morrison - "Basic Principles of Education" (1927) p. 1. "Theories of education since Greek times have so tended to be mere schotiums in speculative philosophy that scientific men have often tended to be skeptical about the whole matter..." (Introd. p. IV.)

\*\*\* Note 74(3): Cf. Montessori - "Montessori Method."  
Hornidge - "La Methode Decroly" (1922)  
Ferriere - "The Activity School" (1929)  
Woods - "Educational Experiments in England."  
MacMunn - "A Path to Progress in The School."  
George - "Citizens Made and Remade."  
Bazeley - "Homer Lane & The Little Commonwealth."  
Adams - "Modern Developments in Educational Practice" (1922)  
Works by Dewey, Collings, B. Russell, Parkhurst, Kilpatrick, MacMillan, Drummond, etc.



human wisdom is to know how to obtain and to secure that degree of happiness which can be most permanently enjoyed." We must treat his self-liberation from the contemporary religious bias as a factor making for simplification of view: his world is the world of the kindly but pragmatic philanthropist and his educational scheme has the merits and defects that follow. Had he held the religious views of a Wm. Allen, his difficulty in formulating a philosophy of education or even a scheme of method would have been infinitely more difficult, just as a definition of man's end would have involved him in a definition of his relationship to God: his system would have been infinitely more complicated.

Of the dangers of some educational practices Owen was well aware:

(a) The danger of driving children into subjects which were of little or no interest to them.†

(b) The danger of making a start not from the near realities of the child's environment, but from a body of abstruse, adult experience, as represented by books: "The children," says Owen, ("Life" I.140.1), "were not to be annoyed with books; but were to be taught the uses and nature or qualities of the common things around them, by familiar conversation when the children's curiosity was excited so as to induce them to ask questions respecting them..

\* Note 75(1): Cf. Maxwell Garnett - "Education for World Citizenship" Ch.I; Thring - "What Knowledge Is Of Most Worth"(passim);

\*\*\* Note 75(2): Cf. Hardie - "Truth & Fallacy in Educational Theory (p.114) Quoted in Appendix.

\*\*\* Note 75(3): Cf. Dewey - "The School & The Child"(1906)p.64, Quoted in Appendix, and Cf. Rousseau-"Emile"(p.49) "Keep the Child (till 12 years of age) dependent on things only"; (p.56) no verbal lessons to be given; (p.80) reading as the curse of childhood(p.17 "man's lessons are usually premature;(p.57) "do not save time, but lose it";(p.90)"To substitute books for them (our hands and feet) does not teach us to reason, it teaches us to use the reason of others rather than our own; it teaches us to believe much and know little."(p.90)

† Cf. Tate - 'Phily. of Ed', 1857, p.3 :definition of the knowledge which is to be taught. Cf. also Spencer -Op.cit.p.58



and explanation of which always excited their curiosity and created an animated conversation between the children and their instructors, now themselves acquiring new knowledge by attempting to instruct their young friends, as I always taught them to think their pupils were, and to treat them as such.

The children at four and above that age showed an eager desire to understand the use of the maps of the four quarters of the world upon a large scale hung in the room to attract their attention. Buchanan, their master, was first taught their use, and then how to instruct the children for their amusement - - for with these infants everything was made to be amusement.

It was most encouraging and delightful to see the progress which these infants and children made in real knowledge, without the use of books. And when the best means of instruction or forming character shall be known, I doubt whether books will ever be used before children attain their tenth year. And yet without books they will have a superior character formed for them at ten.

After some short time..... the infants were unlike all children of such situated parents, and indeed unlike the children of any class of society. Those at two years of age and above had commenced dancing lessons, and those of four years of age and upwards singing lessons - - both under a good teacher. Both sexes were also drilled, and became efficient in the military exercises, being formed into divisions, led by young drummers and fifes, and they became very expert and perfect in these exercises."

("Life" Vol.I.140-141.)

The opposite view was taken by Bell, whose idea of the child's capacity to learn by "artificial signs" was almost unbounded. Cf. Bell - "Abridged Works" (p.509):- "it may be demonstrated experimentally, that children from early infancy (as soon as they can well articulate



and even syntax of the Latin language, in no more time than frequently  
given to one of these branches of education....." Owen looks on  
this course as impossible in practice, and untenable in theory.

"So much for bookish methods: they are simply inapplicable in  
educating younger children," says Owen: "our methods must be based  
on the use of: (a) "sensible signs"

(b) "familiar conversation." \*\*

The use of "sensible signs" had been worked out by Pestalozzi  
in his theory of Anschauung, and of the possibility of using this to  
mould character in infants he was as optimistic as Owen: "These  
passive and wonderfully contrived compounds (infants) can be trained  
to acquire any language, sentiments, belief, or any habits and  
manners not contrary to human nature". (1st Essay on Formation of  
Character.)

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For full education, knowledge based on immediate acquaintance  
with objects alone is satisfactory; and Owen seems to hover about  
the idea elaborated by Pestalozzi that the preliminary to this process  
must be an improving of the child's powers of intuitive apprehension; \*\*\*  
there must be psychological grading of <sup>Sensory</sup> ~~the~~ instruction to suit the  
child's capacity. Above all, Owen seems to be quite unaware of the  
basis of Pestalozzi's theory of Anschauung with its three aspects of  
number, form and name, incomplete in some ways though that theory was. \*\*\*\*

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\* Note 77(1): Cf. Southey - "Life of Bell" III.360: "Bell expects a child  
"of four or five years old" to have learned in one year "an appropriate  
series of religious exercises, and to read and write, and to go  
through the initiatory lessons of the elements of arithmetic and the  
occurrence of the rudiments of Latin and English grammar."

\*\* Note 77(2): On informal conversation, see Herbart - "Outline of Educ.  
Doctrine" (Longe) p.69. Quoted in Appendix.)

\*\*\* Note 77(3): Cf. Pestalozzi - "A.B.C. of Anschauung" pp.260, 137  
Quoted in Appendix. Milton - "Tract to Hartlib" Quoted in Appendix.

\*\*\*\* Note 77(4): For its incompleteness, see acute criticism of Rusk -  
"Doctrines of the Great Educators," p.191. Quoted in Appendix.



instruction.\*

He was unaware, also, of the difficulties involved in his belief in the efficacy of "immediate experience." Of these difficulties, Adams in "The Nature of Ideas" (1926) pp.40-41, says:

"The question as to the kind of knowledge gained by an experience which seems as direct as possible, e.g. seeing or touching an object, is not without psychological difficulties. If by immediate knowledge is meant knowledge undisturbed by any "ideal" side, then such knowledge probably does not occur within conscious experience: we are never entitled to say that perceived (e.g. seen or touched) objects become parts of the stream of our conscious experiences. This seems to be Start's view ("Analytic Psychology", I.44): "If it is under any conditions possible for the object of thought (e.g. object known) to be present in the consciousness of the thinker when he thinks of it, it ought to be possible in this case (e.g. when we think of a sensation as such). If it is not possible in this case, it is difficult to see how it can be possible at all. If introspective knowledge is not immediate, then no knowledge is immediate. Now it will be found on examination that whenever we try to think of an immediate experience of our own, we can do so only by investing it with attributes and relations which are not themselves immediately experienced at the moment. For example, I may think of a momentary appearance in consciousness as an occurrence in my mental history, an incident in my experience. But neither my experience as a whole, nor the position and relations within that whole, can be given as the content of momentary consciousness. The momentary consciousness is only one link in the series which constitutes my experience. We are able 'to look before and after, and sigh for what is not,' only because thought can refer to an

\* See App.



be, still depends on the presence of ideas, which are the vehicles of meaning. Thus "sensible objects" in the hands of one teacher might quite well leave less meaning than the description or discussion of similar objects in absentia by another, more gifted teacher. This is due to the presence in each part of the process of the second factor -- the factor which constitutes a claim or a judgment. This is related to, but is not identical with, Herbartian "interest."

A similar point is made by Hardie (Op.cit.p.84) on the limitations of a method which excludes the possibility and indeed desirability of reaction by the child to ideas associated with objects, and not merely to the objects, themselves. It is particularly relevant to the Project Method. "Part of the work of the teacher is to modify this (instinct of curiosity) in such a way that the pupil will react with this instinct when confronted with ideas of the objects which naturally arouse it. The project method which ... insists that the pupils should always be confronted with actual objects or situations, seems to me to ignore the possibility of modifying instinct in this way."

On one point in particular Owen is peculiarly emphatic: the importance of the very early years of a child's life for habit or character formation. <sup>\*</sup> Again and again he insists on this; as in the passage: "these passive and wonderfully contrived compounds, <sup>\*\*</sup> (infants) can be trained to any language, etc....." "I venture to say," says Burt (in Foreword to E.G. Hume's "Learning and Teaching <sup>of</sup> in the Infants School" (1938) "that/all departments, the infant's

\* Note 79(1): But the importance for education of adolescence is lost on him. Cf. Godwin "The Inquirer" (1793) p.121, quoted in Appendix, and G.S.Hall - "Adolescence." (passim)

\*\* Note 79(2): Cf. Brougham in House of Commons (1820) (Hansard II.87) Quoted in Appendix, and Mill - 1818, Ency.Brit.(p.19), quoted in App



is because their parents insist - wrongly, in Owen's opinion, though he would probably hesitate to go as far as Rousseau in "Emile" p.292. <sup>\*\*</sup>  
In this Owen comes near the modern view, as reported in the Ministry of Education Report on Infants and Nursery Schools that there should not be any systematic teaching of the three R's before the child has attained a mental age of six years.

Owen is never under any illusion about the paramount importance in infancy of (1) Physical well being; (2) The necessity of kindly treatment to develop normal stability of disposition. <sup>†</sup> In another point Owen forestalls other thinkers of the time - in his view of the variety of the factors contributing to child-development, agreeing with Jas. Mill's view in the 1818 Encyclopædia Britannica:

"Our enquiry is concerned with everything which from the first germ of existence till the final extinction of life, operates in such a way as to affect the qualities of the mind on which happiness depends in any degree whatsoever."

In this Owen was followed closely, as usual, by later educationists like Wildespin, who may be quoted as typical of Owen's wide influence: "The examples and the impressions made in the first six or seven years of life, are of more importance than has hitherto been conceived.... nor is it fair to expect that the evil influence of six

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\*Note 80(1): Cf. Newnham - "Principles of Education" (1827) I. 532. Quote in Appendix; N.M.W. June 20, 1835, Quoted in Appendix.

\*\*Note 80(2): Cf. Rousseau - "Emile" - "the most dangerous period in human life lies between birth and the age of twelve," and "Emile" p.108, 123 and 124, Quoted in Appendix.  
Rousseau - "Emile" - p.292 - "Give me a child of twelve who knows nothing at all, at fifteen I will restore him to you knowing as much as those who have been under instruction from infancy: with this difference, that your scholars only know things by heart, while mine knows how to use his knowledge."

† Cf. Spencer - 'On Ed.', p.108 : principles : (a) self-instruction;  
(b) 'The mental action induced shall be throughout intrinsically grateful'.



....."The education of the heart, the guidance of the infant's will, the direction and cultivation of its affections, through the period of the infant state, was, and is, the primary object of the infant system....." (Op.cit.p.11.)

For the importance Owen attached to the earliest years full credit has been given him by most historians of education. In this respect he anticipates the Froebelians.

In that early period, says Owen, one of the great educative agencies is the playground. Owen indeed attaches quite remarkable importance to it, and it is perhaps not too much to see in this attitude the germ of the idea developed by Froebel into a highly significant methodology of play, and by others into a special child-guidance technique.

Owen frequently seems to be nearing the modern view of child-nature as something which must be treated individually, each child to be cultivated in his different powers and to have his inborn qualities developed in an atmosphere of freedom. It is too much to

\* Note 81(1): Cf. Froebel, "Pedagogics of Kindergarten" p.95... "to consider childhood as the most important stage of the total development of man and humanity - indeed, as a stage of the development of the spiritual as such, and of the godlike in the earthly and human."

\*\* Note 81(2): e.g. by Murray & Brown-Smith "Child Under Eight" p.135 Quoted in Appendix. Boyd - "History of Western Education" p.392; Smith - "History of English Education; etc."

\*\*\* Note 81(3): Cf. Wilderspin - "System" (p.26) "The infant school playground is the world in miniature, each inhabitant of which lives in harmony or otherwise, with his associates....."

\*\*\* Note 81(4): Cf. Blanton & Blanton - "Child Guidance" (1927), passim.

\*\*\* Note 81(5): Cf. Wilderspin - "System" (p.13) on aims of infant education - Quoted in Appendix.

\*\*\* Note 81(6): Cf. Cotty - "Modern Education" (p.127) "A school can only be freed from formalism as teachers and parents are converted to a belief in natural methods of learning."  
And Cf. Blanton and Blanton - "Child Guidance." (P.4.)



good and happy people; that to acquire learning or skill is an interesting and vital experience; that each child should learn at his own pace and in his own way; that co-operation with others must be learned by free and friendly association with other pupils; and that ..... "in any really educative situation we breathe the atmosphere of human aspiration and from it there is no escape."

(McAllister, Op.cit.p.8.)

Even now infants schools have not escaped from the payment by results methods the formalism and mechanical tendencies of which, as represented by the monitorial methods sixty years earlier, Owen attacked. \*\*

In dealing with each of the ordinary elementary subjects, Owen shows the same awareness of the interests of child-nature, and has much of value to offer.

Geography, he says, should be full of interest, kept alive by frequent use of maps of various kinds, some with names inscribed, some blank, some in a special pictorial form. It is disappointing

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\* Note 82(1): Cf. McCallister - "Growth of Freedom in Education" (1931) p.557 ".....freedom is the harmonizing of the pupil's self assertive and submissive tendencies in the light of the highest value affirmed by him to be relevant to the life situation of the movement."

\*\* Note 82(2): Cf. among many others, Rugg & Shumaker - "The Child Centred School," (1929); Irwin and Marks - "Fitting the School to the Child" (1928); Childs - "Education and the Philosophy of Experimentalism"; C. Washburne - "Adjusting the School to the Child" (1932); D. Russell - "In Defence of Children" (1932); W. Rawson (Editor) - "The Freedom We Seek" (1937) V. Hazlett - "Psychology of Infancy" (1933); MacMillan - "Nursery School" (1919) "Education through the Imagination" (1923), etc.

\*\*\* Note 82(3): Cf. Edgeworth - "Practical Education" (1811), II.49: various map-novelties mentioned, and "any mode which unites amusement with instruction" is welcomed. Mrs. Trimmer had the same faith in teaching devices though history offered her more scope - see her works - "A Series of Prints from Ancient History with Descriptions," etc.

† Cf. Hume - 'Learning and Teaching in Infant School', 1938, p.16: 'We are moving towards the idea of an Infants' School which shall be not a place of instruction but an instructive environment, .. activity and experience rather than knowledge'.



into land and water, then that of land into four continents, then the division of the continents into their parts, etc. This seems to be ~~the~~ one case where Owen fails to hit on a method which has approved itself to later teachers, who regard geography not as an isolated subject but as "another channel of approach to the study of ourselves in relation to our surroundings." (Catty - "Modern Education" p.78.).

On the teaching of geography at New Lanark, we have R.D.Owen's evidence: <sup>\*\*</sup>"Their lessons in geography were no less amusing to the children themselves and interesting to strangers. At a very early age they were instructed in classes on maps of the four quarters of the world, and after becoming expert in a knowledge of these, all the classes were united in one large class - and lecture room, to go through these exercises on a map of the world so large as almost to cover the end of the room. On this map were delineated the usual divisions of the best maps, except that there were no names of countries or cities or towns; but for the cities and towns were small but distinct circles to denote their places - the classes united for this purpose generally consisted of about one hundred and fifty, forming as large a circle as could be placed to see the map. A light white wand was provided, sufficiently long to point to the highest part of the map by the youngest child. The lessons commenced by one of the children taking the wand to point with. Then one of them would ask him to point to such a district, place, island, city or town. This would be done generally many times in succession; but when the holder of the wand was at fault and could not point to the place asked for, he had to resign his wand to his questioner, who had to go through the same process. This by degrees became most amusing to the children who soon learned to ask for the least-thought-of districts and places that they might puzzle the holder

\* Note 83(1): Cf. Barnard - "Principles & Practice of Geog. Training"

Note 83(2): R.D.Owen - "Outline of the System of Ed. at New Lanark"

\*\* which, however, fails at many points to convey the spirit of + educational work done there.



as much instructed as the children, who thus at an early age become so efficient, that one of our Admirals, who had sailed round the world, said he could not answer many of the questions which some of these children not six years old readily replied to, giving the places most correctly." \*

In Owen's disciple, Wilderspin, we find the same inconsistency between practice and theory. In his "System" (pp.105-159) he begins with some sound ideas, e.g. using trays covered with water (sea) and corks (land), or chalking out the different islands, etc. on the playground, the children moving about from these; the making of native dresses by the girls, etc. But this is followed by a long list of the counties and towns of the British Isles, all to be memorised (pp.114-117), and the samples of questions to be asked do not inspire confidence, e.g. - Q. "By what is Asia surrounded on three sides?" Ans. "By water . Q. "What has it on the other?" Ans. "Land." \*\*\*

In one further point, however, Owen shows the strength of consistency at least to his more fundamental principles : geography is not to be simply a factual subject: it has great moral significance too, and in a wide sense can illustrate the influence of environment, so as to broaden the children's attitude towards foreigners.

"In this manner are circumstances which undue national peculiarities and national vices exhibited to them; and the question will naturally arise in their minds: 'Is it not highly probable that we ourselves, had we lived in such a country, should have

\* Note 84(1): Cf.V. Knox - "Liberal Education" (1781) p.159 on geography - "Still I think the best and the easiest method is to point out the places in maps and not yet to perplex him with an unentertaining geographical treatise."

\*\* Note 84(2): Cf.Rousseau - "Emile" p.74: "He is taught the names of towns, countries, rivers, which have no existence for him except on the paper before him."

\*\*\* Note 84(3): There are the same incongruities in Wilderspin's treatment of Botany-teaching - Cf. "System". pp.59-61 (Quoted in Apr



just as the circumstances of our birth should have placed us in Hindostan, where the killing of an animal becomes a heinous crime; or amongst some savage tribe where to torture a fellow creature and feast on his dead body is accounted a glorious action?" A child who has once felt what the true answer to such a question must be, cannot remain uncharitable or intolerant."

(R.D. Owen - "Outlines of Education at New Lanark." p.48.)

In this respect Owen is obviously dissatisfied with merely factual teaching: whatever is taught must enhance the child's character and shape it to the deep-seated charity which is the touchstone of character.

In history teaching Owen was to some extent misled by starting off from his previous assumption about the unique value of "sensible signs" in education; and he was led first of all to elaborate various items, e.g. a special diagram which he called "The Stream of Time", showing the chronological relations of historical events in a picturesque manner; if the pupil could recall the position of an event in the "Stream of Time," he would have a wide knowledge of its relations to other events in history; he would be able to place it in its historical background, appreciate its historical significance, etc. The fallacy here is the same as in mnemonics or in all verbalist methods: it is much easier and more valuable to recall a historical event by features peculiar to itself - these features in fact constituting the historical knowledge proper in any one case. In attempting to avoid the artificial, Owen has introduced something even more artificial. In any case to recall



on a painted diagram. Owen's method is a wrong and an artificial extension of his method of using "sensible signs."

Our main criticism of much of Owen's methodology is that too little is left to the child's effort or purposeful activity: with Owen there is too much overseeing, though it is intelligent overseeing aimed at leading the child's interests to higher levels. \*\*

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Here is how R.D. Owen describes the history-teaching at New Lanark: \*\*\*\*  
"Seven large maps or tables laid out on the principle of \*\*\*\*\*  
"The Stream of Time", and which were originally purchased from Mrs. Whitwell, a lady who formerly conducted a respectable seminary in London, are hung round the spacious room. These being made of canvas, may be rolled up at pleasure. On the Streams, each of which is differently coloured, and represents a nation, are painted the principal events which occur in the history of these nations. Each century is closed by a horizontal line, drawn across the map. By means of these maps, the children are taught the outlines of Ancient and Modern History, with ease to themselves, and without being liable to confound different events, or different nations. On hearing any two events, for instance, the child has but to recollect the situations on the tables of the paintings, by which those are represented, in order to be furnished at once with their chronological relation to each other. If the events are contemporary, he will instantly perceive it."

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\* Note 86(1): Cf. Dewey - "School and Society" p.101: the question is whether chronological order contributes to our understanding of social relations: "If the aim be an appreciation of what social life is and how it goes on, then certainly, the child must deal with what is near in spirit, not with the remote. The difficulty with the Babylonian or Egyptian is not so much its remoteness in time as its remoteness from the present interests and aims of social life. Its salient features are hard to get at and to understand, even by the specialist!"

\*\* Note 86(2): Cf. Cotty - "Modern Ed. of Young Children." p.27.

\*\*\* Note 86(3): R.D. Owen - "Outline of System..." p.50.

\*\*\*\* Note 86(4): Cf. Dewey - "Democracy & Education" (pp.148-9): he denies the value of attention if secured by "some feature of eductiveness to material otherwise indifferent," i.e., "to secure attention and effort offering a bribe of pleasure." Dewey suspects all external teaching.

\*\*\*\* Note 86(5): Cf. Edgeworth, Op.cit. 1454: mentions "Priestley's Biographical Chart:" there was apparently a vogue in pictorial aids in his teaching.



to maintain interest and he is reduced to something only a little better than the pure memorising in vogue at the time: he does try to find "sensible signs" to ease the strain on memory, but particularly in history, these are weak. He does not hit on the idea commonly accepted now that in geography and history the pupil should be encouraged to work outwards from his own environment or from his own times into the realms of travellers or historians tales, etc. How is this to be done? By starting from the local greengrocer's window display or from some ancient part of the local church or city wall or some old house, Elizabethan or Jacobean, in the neighbourhood; or even from some ancient villager's talk on older times or on foreign travel.

There is also the mistake common to Owen's time as to the contents in geography or history which interests a child: it is not a list of towns or of Kings and battles: it is the smaller things. \* what people cook or eat in other countries, what former generations bought and sold or played at or how they dressed. It is too much to expect Owen to anticipate his times by 60 or 70 years and see the significance of the boys' love of building shelters, or acting the part of Robinson Crusoe, or the girl's fondness for dressing her doll or making it's clothes. \*\* Nor do we find any attempt by Owen to relate the content of the history course to the child's psychological development, a field which has been extremely fertile since Owen's day. \*\*\*

\* Note 87(1): Cf Dewey - "The School and the Child" (1906)p.120 on history and geography. Quoted in Appendix. Edgeworth - "Practical Education"II.46. "The art of creating an interest in the study of geography depends upon the dexterity with which passing circumstances are seized by a preceptor in conversation."

\* Note 87(2): Cf. Dewey - "School & Child" for the early history to be taught at this stage; p. ; Murray & Brown-Smith pp.218-219.

\*\*\* Note 87(3): Cf. Dewey - "School & Child" pp.103-104, for a complete history-scheme based on the stages of the child's development. Quoted in Appendix. See also H. Spencer "On Education" (ed. Cavanagh p.37 - worthless as now taught; pp.38-42: "we want all facts which help us to understand how a nation has grown and organized itself." (p.39.)



to be memorised: it should put to the child a question in a form which, by inspection, and interpretation, the child may with some effort answer by himself. It is no comfort to know that the New Lanark children could answer so many difficult questions by sheer memory: could they use a map intelligently? Had they an intelligent grasp of the great historical movements of the past as they tended to shape the present and future? Had they undergone real historical experiences? \*\*\*

In a word, Owen at best uses the method of the story-teller; and at worst uses the memorising methods so common in his day and so severely criticised by him: he has not yet hit on the method of discovery by self-effort by the pupil or of presentation initiated by experience on the child's level by the teacher.

But no doubt for Owen the method of education meant much less than the content and the end-product: it is not to be compared with the importance of evolving the rational beings, he describes in the "New Moral World" Part III, p.46: "It is futile to talk about the details of education, until the great outline of external rational circumstances shall be created, in which rational details can be introduced and daily practised....." etc.

History teaching for Owen is very much a matter of memorising: he fails to perceive the many difficult issues seen by Rousseau (Emile pp.199,202,205,206) e.g. what content of history satisfies the general demands that should be made of any teaching - (immediacy of experience, appeal to interest, satisfaction of a felt need, etc.);

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Note 88(1): Cf. Adams - "Evolution of Educational Theory" p.201. Quoted in Appendix. Cf. Dewey - "Democracy and Education" (p.400): on knowledge acquisition: "Only that which has been organized into our disposition so as to enable us to adapt the environment to our needs and to adapt our aims and desires to the situation in which we live is really knowledge."

\*\*  
Note 88(2): Cf. Whitehead - "Aims of Education and Other Essays" p.1. Quoted in Appendix.

\*\*\*  
Note 88(3): Cf. Murray & Brown-Smith, pp.218-220 and the Model syllabus, Quoted in Appendix.



merely trying to present it in a more palatable form - most of it to be taught at an age (before 12 years) when, Rousseau says, history is useless. \*\* There is no talk of history being more than a static record of the past,† an account of social forces evolving special economic or industrial forms or aspects or special human types; we are still far from Dewey's dynamic view:

"If the aim of historical instruction is to enable the child to appreciate the values of social life, to see in imagination the forces which favour and let men's effective co-operation with one another, to understand the sorts of character that help on and that hold back, the essential thing in its presentation is to make it moving, dynamic. History must be presented not as an accumulation of results or effects,..... but as a forceful, acting thing.... To study history is not to amass information, but to use information in constructing a vivid picture of how and why men did thus and so achieved their successes and came to their failures."

("School and the Child pp.96).

We may compare the Edgeworths' view ("Practical Education," 1811, I.452) in history teaching especially:- "A judicious preceptor ..... will perceive that it is of more consequence that his pupils should have distinct notions of right and wrong than that they should have perfectly by rote all the fifty volumes of the Universal History."

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\* Note 89(1): Cf. Note Quoted in Appendix.

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\*\* Note 89(2): Cf. "Emile" pp.198, ff.; p.206. 'History teaching is useless till adolescence, when the pupil may have a "wish to know men."'†

† Cf. Spencer - 'On Ed.', p.40 : the only history of practical value is 'Descriptive Sociology'.



it must be based on immediate experience; it must lead to an ability to use number - - though Owen has not the same fundamental conception of number as Pestalozzi - and to understand quantity. Again, Owen has nothing like the grasp of the Anschauungsprinzip shown by Pestalozzi but is content if the pupils know the reason behind each process they perform. "Arithmetic has hitherto been taught on the system which commonly prevails in Scotland. The older classes, however, are just beginning a regular course of mental arithmetic, similar to that adopted by M. Pestalozzi of Iverdum in Switzerland." \*\*\*

Owen was mainly concerned, then, that number concepts should be rooted in reality: a beginning should be made, as by Pestalozzi's methods, with discrete sensory units, and the child should have ample experience of these in forming his ideas of number before he dealt with abstractions: he would have agreed that, "number for the young child, should be experience." (Wellook - "A Modern Infant School." 1932.)

In natural-history teaching, Owen is content to accept the method of "familiar lectures" to classes of 40 to 50 pupils, who are closely questioned afterwards, use being made throughout, as far as

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\* Note 90(1): Cf. De Guimps - "Life of Pestalozzi", p.230, p.413, etc.

\*\* Note 90(2): Cf. Pestalozzi - "Leonard & Gertrude" p.131:- "The instruction she gave them in the rudiments of arithmetic was intimately connected with the realities of life. She taught them to count the number of steps from one end of the room to the other, and two of the rows of five panes each, in one of the windows, gave her an opportunity to unfold the decimal relations of numbers..... Above all, in every occupation of life she taught them an accurate and intelligent observation of common objects and the forces of nature." See, however, Rusk's valuable note ("History of Infant Education" p ) on the fallacy of "concreteness" in teaching number-concepts.

\*\*\* Note 90(3): R.D. Owen - "Outline of System" p.40



little equipment, mediocre teachers - are already there: he can only make the best of them.

Here, if anywhere, Rousseau enjoys a triumph of theory which throws Owen and his contemporaries into a poor light indeed: "Emile" is to learn by discovery (p.131), - the heuristic method foreshadowed one hundred years before its time - ; it is more important to give a taste for sciences and scientific method than to teach it (p.135);  
"learn by doing" (p.144 and p.214 and p.168); a bold application of the criterion: "What is the use of that? This is the sacred formula." (p.142).

Reading in any educational system of the time held a key position reading being held the one subject really essential for the education of the poor and the one which would determine whether a people was educated or not. Writing was relatively a luxury, e.g. an evening school or a Sunday school might not teach writing, but would certainly always teach reading.

In this province Owen showed the clearest vision and picked out the main points unerringly: "The general principle, that children

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\* Note 91(1): Cf. M. & R. L. Edgeworth - "Practical Education" (1811) Preface V and I 434. Quoted in Appendix.

\*\* Note 91(2): Rousseau - "Emile" (heuristic method p.131.) "let him know nothing because you have told him, but because he has learnt it for himself. Let him not be taught science, let him discover it." Cf. H. E. Armstrong - "The Teaching of Scientific Method" (1903).

\*\*\* Note 91(3): Rousseau - "Emile" p.135. "It is not your business to teach him the various sciences, but to give him a taste for them and methods of learning them when this taste is more mature." and :- "You have not got to teach him truths so much as to show him how to set about discovering for himself." (p.168)

\*\*\* Note 91(4): Rousseau - "Emile" p.144. "Teach by doing whenever you can, and only fall back upon words when doing is out of the question" and :- "Let all the lessons of young people take the form of doing rather than talking; let them learn nothing from books which they can learn from experience." (p.214.)

\*\*\* Note 91(5): Cf. "Emile" p.73: Study of language as "lumber."



That great and general error, the mistaking of the word for the thing,  
is avoided....." \*

("Life," p.36.)

"A knowledge of reading and writing is considered but as furnishing a child with tools, which may be employed for the most useful, or most pernicious purposes, or which may be rusty and unemployed in the possession of him, who, having obtained them at great trouble and expense, is yet unacquainted with their real use. The listlessness and indifference so generally complained of by him whose unpleasant duty it becomes to force learned, but to them unmeaning sounds, upon his ill-fated pupils..... are scarcely known under such a system."

("Life," p.37.)

"It is for this reason that, but for the wishes of the parents and of parties connected with the establishment, the Scriptures and Church Catechism would not be put into the hands of children at so early an age as that of the day-scholars. There are many parts of the Scriptures, which children of that age should not be made acquainted with, and many more which they cannot understand; and the Catechism of the Scotch Church is so abstruse and doctrinal, that even their superiors in age and understanding might be puzzled, if called upon to explain what, as children, they learned to repeat."

("Life," p.38)

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\*Note 92(1): Cf. Pestalozzi - "Leonard and Gertrude" p.130 - Quoted in Appendix.

Cf. Edgeworth - Op.cit.I.81. :- "Words without correspondent ideas are worse than useless; they are counterfeit coin..... It is a nice and difficult thing in education to proportion a child's vocabulary exactly to his knowledge, dispositions or conformation....."



the latter practice had.

(b) in lack of thoroughness.

(c) in mistaking recitation for reading, i.e. Owen was on the way to seeing the necessity of reading for understanding.

(d) in a failure to differentiate reading according to the stage of the child's development.

No doubt Owen was still far behind the modern view of reading with its demands that it should satisfy two vital conditions:-

(1) "The need that the child shall have in his own personal and vital experience a varied background of contact and acquaintance with realities, social and physical. This is necessary to prevent symbols from becoming a purely second-handed and conventional substitute for reality."

(2) The need that the more ordinary, direct and personal experience of the child shall furnish problems, motives, and interests that necessitate recourse to books for their solution, satisfaction, and pursuit....."

(Dewey - "The School & The Child," p.123.)

On the other hand, Owen is immensely ahead of many of his contemporaries in his humane and acute view of the human values and the psychological questions involved: to begin the teaching of

Note 93(1): Cf. 1816 "Report on Education of Lower Orders," p.78 :-

Q. "Do the moral sentiments conveyed by the pieces (of Scriptures) in your opinion, produce right principles in the minds of the children (of Sunday Schools)?"

A. "Yes, they very frequently recur to their minds, and when they are exposed to temptation, guard them against evil."

Note 93(2): In the modern infants school, reading is regarded as a thought-getting process, and the technique of teaching reading (developing reading by thought-unit; accurate and speedy word-recognition, proper eye-movements, wide recognition span) has been greatly improved in recent years, e.g. see list of devices in Wellock, Op.cit. pp.78-98.

Note 93(3): Cf. Vicesimus Knox - "Essays on a Liberal Education" (1781) p.18 - "Let the child be taught to read as soon as the infant faculties begin to display symptoms of improvable expansion...." and p.22 :- "The greatest objection to the very early instruction which I recommend is that.... it may injure the health of the tender pupil."



and should act as an agency setting free the child and allowing him the joy of exercising all his powers in open, friendly conditions: away with the obscurities and dullness of these readers; let the child have something he need not merely recite with utter incomprehension.

Unlike Pestalozzi who favoured the phonic method of teaching reading, the child working from syllables as the initial units - the method which has now won favour widely - Owen is content to use the alphabetic method popular in his time.

The problem of finding suitable children's reading books did not escape Owen. In the main, the only books which the children of the "labouring poor" were expected to read were the Bible and religious works; anything beyond that was really marked out for the middle and upper classes. Thus in 1785 it could be said in "Sunday Schools Recommended - A Sermon preached by George Horne, D.D., Dean of Canterbury and President of Magdalen College, Oxford, 1785; quoted by M.G. Jones - "Charity School Movement in 18th Century," 1938 p.145 - "I examine the most forward of the children and explain the Catechism, and the use of the Prayer Book. I exercise them in repeating after me the Lord's Prayer and the Creeds, and all the responses. We have gone through, likewise, Fox on "Public Worship", and his "Introduction", etc., and also Crossman's "Introduction," etc., the "Church Catechism broke into short questions," and Mann's "Catechism." The Books in common use are

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\* Note 94(1): Cf. Wilderspin - "System" p.22. (Quoted in Appendix.)

\*\* Note 94(2): See Appendix.

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Cf. Stow - 'Trg. System', p.II3 : 'Every child committed the Westminster Assembly's Catechism verbatim. The greatest anxiety was to get out of the Bible into the Collection'.... 'When we asked the meaning of any part of our lessons, a box on the ear generally followed'.



furnished with a Common Prayer Book and Testaments to carry to Church.

and

"I am at Chapel when the school begins. I superintend all myself. I stay till eleven, and then we all go to Church together. I take 30 to 40 of the most advanced children, hear them read the psalms, the Collects, the Epistle, the Gospel and the lesson of the day. I explain things to them. At 1.30 we meet at school again, and at 2.30 we return to Church; after Church we all return to School."

The subject of children's reading books has been well explored by F.J. Harvey Darton in Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol.XI. p.366 ff; "Education in the 19th Century (1901) edited by R.D. Roberts; Edgeworth - "Practical Education" Vol.I.pp.406-491; Mrs. Trimmers "Reflections on Education of Children in Charity Schools (1792) p.18 ff., etc., Curry - "Early and Infant School Education" (1857) p.209 ff; "North British Review," Aug.1854;

In 1792 Mrs. Trimmer (Op.cit.p.18) writes:- "The children are first taught to read in a spelling book, the lessons of which chiefly consist of sentences collected from the Scriptures, most of them in figurative language; as soon as they can read and spell a little, they are put into the New Testament, and go through that in the same manner, without regard to anything further than improvement in the art of reading. They learn, by stated regular tasks, the columns of spelling in the spelling books; and in some schools they are taught English Grammar, writing and arithmetic. Once or twice a week the scholars are catechised, that is, they stand up in classes and answer in rotation the questions in the Church Catechism, and explanations of it. They learn, perhaps, besides, chapters, prayers, etc. by heart, and are sometimes taught psalmody. They go to Church twice

\* Note 95(1): Cf. Trimmer - "Some Account of Life and Writings of Mrs. Trimmer.." (1814) I.216: Watt's "Divine Songs for Children" are "more widely dispersed than any other book in the English language excepting Bibles and Prayer Books." I.216.



a Bible, Common Prayer Book, and 'Whole Duty of Man' were given to them and it is supposed from the years they have been at school, that they must necessarily be furnished with a competent share of Christian knowledge to enable them to read with advantage and improvement as long as they live." (Cf. also Mrs. Trimmer in "Guardian of Education," 1802-4, passim.)

This represents an important truth which may easily be forgotten in reading through the list of books given by Dartan (Op.cit.) pp.475-492), - that most of the children of the poorer classes would never set eyes on these children's books proper - reading for them meant and was intended to mean religious books - the Anglican Catechism, The Bible, the 'Whole Duty of Man' published in 1658 and entitled "The Practice of Christian Graces or The Whole Duty of Man, laid down in a plain way for the use of the meanest reader; divided into XVII Chapters, one thereof being read every Lord's Day, the whole may be read over thrice in the year. Necessary for all Families."

He might make the acquaintance of Dr. Isaac Watt's "Divine and Moral Songs" (21st ed., 1752) (Cf. Cambridge History of English Literature IX. 178).

There was a constant distrust of any fiction, especially imaginative fiction, - the most that the children of the "lower orders" might hope to see would be "Aesop's Fables" or "Reynard the Fox." Indeed, as Owen so plainly realised, their learning to read meant more properly learning to read aloud, whether with understanding or not was immaterial. (Cf. "1816 Report on Education of Lower Orders," p.13. - Q. "In the Sunday schools, how many years does it require to teach a child reading?" A. "I really am not sure how long; if they attend constantly, they will very soon acquire it....."

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one and a half years.

Most of the better-off children's reading books were in fact unsuitable for one or other of these reasons:

(a) Excessive, prolonged and ubiquitous moralising.

(b) Absence of humour.

(c) Unhealthy fostering of introspection. Cf. "Education in 19th Century", Ed. Ward pp.22-23:- "the 'Divine and Moral Songs' and the 'Fairchild Family' sum up the Evangelical Movement in all its terrors for the nursery. God is an awful and vengeful master who teaches by striking and terrible object lessons. Endless torment, clanking chains and bitter remorse are the fate of the nursery

: while Mrs. Sherwood and Dr. Watts persistently represent the child's heart as his direst foe," and (Mrs. Sherwood's "books may be fairly taken to contain the ideas current in middle class society as to child nature and child intelligence. Habits of introspection and self-examination were fostered."

"What strikes one, indeed, in the first fifty years of the century, is the place which, educationally, fear held....." (p.25).

(d) Over-sentimentality - In "Practical Education" I.423, the Edgeworths give an example: "In the 'Flower that never Fades,' a weeping governess talks to her pupil in such a strain about a fault so horrid that she cannot bring herself to name it; that the child becomes dumb, trembles, sighs, and at last 'falls half swooning, as it were, beside a verdant hillock?' This 'deed without a name' proves to be a little childish vanity, which had made the young lady talk in too decisive a voice at breakfast upon some historical point, shew her writing with an air of triumph in her eyes, and put Miss Elizabeth out by keeping bad time on the pianoforte." And they very sensibly conclude, : "An appeal to the affections of a child should be made only on great emergencies."



"Songs of Innocence," Wm. Roscoe's "Butterfly's Ball" (1806-7) etc.  
"The importance of these works lies not in their individual merits but in their collective mass. Public opinion was changing. The 'renaissance of wonder' had spread to the nursery, and a new age was at hand."

(Darton, Op.cit.XI.p.386.)

(f) Adherence to religious texts. Lancaster ("Improvements in Education," 1806, p.162) gives an illuminating example of his treatment of a religious text: He first quotes a verse:-

"How glorious is our heavenly King,  
Who reigns above the sky;  
How shall a child presume to sing  
His dreadful Majesty."

Questions asked by the teacher, 'Who is our heavenly King?' Answer, 'God?' 'Who is glorious?' 'God?' 'Who reigns above the sky?' 'God.' 'Who has dreadful Majesty?' 'God,' etc. This specimen may suffice for the manner in which any teacher has power to vary the questions, and exercise the understanding of his pupils."

What appeal could this make to a little London pickpocket wrestling with the rudiments of letters? (Cf. Wilderspin - "System" p.12; Jas Mill - 1818 - Ency. Britannia, p.27.)

Of contemporary books, the Edgeworths believed that Mrs. Barbauld's "Lessons for Children" (1805) "are by far the best books of the kind that have ever appeared." ("Practical Education", I. p.406). But for all of them Owen seems to have had much the same opinion.

Of the place he assigned to dancing, singing and "military exercises" - they might be grouped together as recreational exercises depending on rhythm, - Owen was rather proud, and to



at two years of age and above had commenced dancing lessons, and those of four years of age and upwards singing lessons, - both under a good teacher. Both sexes were also drilled, and became efficient in the military exercises, being formed into divisions, led by young drummers and fifers, and they became very expert and perfect in these exercises.

("Life," p.195.)

The singing of sacred songs had been tried with some success in a few of the charity schools in the 18th century, and the charity children had, on special occasions, been heard in full chorus, with delight, and church music had become of real significance for many. The S.P.C.K. had favoured the practice at first, but later leading Churchmen had declared against it as tending to undermine social discipline. Thus in 1724 the Bishop of London in his address to London Charity School teachers declared against it: "it might lead to a "more polite kind of education" incompatible with schools designed to make good Christians and good servants."

In his introduction of dancing and singing Owen was again probably adopting a practice which had been used in most of the better class elementary schools, but certainly not in the schools for the poor, for the reasons given above.

He was particularly delighted with the results of these special dancing and singing lessons, and despite opposition from his Quaker

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\* Note 99(1): Justified by "New Moral World" I.54: "Each individual is so organized that his highest health, his greatest progressive improvement, and his permanent happiness, depend upon the due cultivation of all his physical, intellectual and moral faculties, or elements of his nature, - upon their being called into action at a proper period of life...." Also, Cf. Holyoake - "History of Co-operation" p. quoting "Foreshadowings of Co-operation in Plato," by W. Morrison, M.P. 1874. "Owen, like Plato, laid great stress on the value of singing, dancing and drill, as means of education, much to the horror of his Quaker friends and partners. Like Plato, he considered ease, graceful bearing, self-possession, and politeness principle tests and objects of any system of education. Where even now could you find such a school as the New Lanark, for rich or poor, setting up these qualities as among its main and principle objects."

\*\* Note 99(2): Cf. M.G. Jones, Op.cit. P.81.



....I often found them (Wm. Allen and Jos. Foster) in the dancing and singing rooms when the exercises were going on, and enjoying the new scenes of happiness which, as Quakers from birth, they had never previously witnessed. Dancing, music, and the military discipline will always be prominent surroundings in a rational system for forming character. They give health, unaffected grace to the body, teach obedience and order in the most imperceptible and pleasant manner, and create peace and happiness of the mind, preparing it in the best manner to make progress in all mental acquisitions."

("Life." p.195).

Of the special significance of singing and dancing, however, as a unique mode of self-expression, Owen had no real idea: it was perhaps as a part of the scheme for ensuring orderliness that it commended itself to him - the very ground which has been most severely criticised by moderns who have found in these subjects the key to such different processes as the rhythmic interpretation of a poem and the dramatisation of a historical theme.

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\*Note 100(1): Cf. Owen - "Life" p.195 - with its misjudgment of Wm. Allen:- "A man of great pretensions in his sect, a very busy, bristling, meddling character, making great professions of friendship to me, yet underhandedly doing all in his power to undermine my views and authority in conducting the new forming of the character of the children and population at New Lanark." Cf. Allen's evidence before "Select Committee on Education of the Lower Classes" 1816 pp.114-122.

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\*Note 100(2): Cf. Bernard - "Digest of S.B.C.P." (1809) p.91: "It may appear fanciful to mention among the causes of the melioration of Scotch character, their instruction in Music, so as not only to introduce Psalms and Hymns in divine service, but at social meetings."

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\*Note 100(3): E.g. Mrs. Murray MacBain, Miss de Rusette, Miss Marie Salt, etc. Cf. J.J. Findlay - Op.cit. p.235: "... we can hardly trace the moment when the music centres are developed and the capacity for appreciation of rhythm and melody is born".



of the children and to accept in his schools the same religious instruction as was given in other schools. This is made clear by his evidence before the 1816 Select Committee on Education. This may have been in order to make his scheme acceptable to popular opinion: it is more likely that he did not attach sufficient importance to it to go out of his way to exclude it altogether: most of it was too unintelligible to have any lasting influence.\*

If we compare Owen's programme with a thoroughly modern one, there is not so very much difference - at least in spirit: we may take the programme given in "Modern Education of Young Children," ed. Catty. (1953) p.22.

9 a.m. to 9.20 a.m. Greetings, tidying and arrangement of room, exchange of views, attention to hygiene, care of plants and flowers. Morning hymn and prayer.

9.20 a.m. to 9.40a.m. Eurhythmics or physical training.

9.40 a.m. to 10.35a.m. Free activities.

10.35 to 11 a.m. Free play in playground.

11 a.m. to 11.20 a.m. Songs, lunch, clearing away.

11.20 to 11.40 a.m. Language, games, rhymes, dramatization, etc.

11.40 to 11.55 a.m. Scripture story, or pictures.

Afternoon - The fives would rest during the afternoon.

2 p.m. to 2.20 p.m. Music or games and free play with balls and large toys (in open-air, if possible)

2.20 to 3.15 p.m. Free activities.

3.15 to 3.30 p.m. Free play in playground.

3.30 to 3.55 p.m. Tidying away materials, story, rhyme, and song.†

\*Note 101(1): Cf. Wilderspin - "System" p.12: and (Teachers have been) "cramming them with words which they cannot understand, forcing them to repeat passages of Scriptures above their comprehension, and creeds from books..." See also Op.cit.p.22. Quoted in Appendix.  
Brougham's speech in "Parliamentary Debates", Hansard, 2nd Series, II. 77-78, importance of religious instruction in the new schools envisaged by his Bill - Quoted in Appendix.

Cf. Irwin and Marks - Op.cit.pp.II8-130, some of it quoted in App.p.xv.



It would, of course, be unfair to criticize Owen's methods from a strictly modern point of view: it must be judged in the main by the contemporary practice. There is none of the widespread modern faith in the spontaneous development of child nature in a free environment, e.g. by gaining experience in freedom, or by free play in the Froebelian sense; there is to be no freedom of choice of experience or learning matter for Owen's children; Owen's conception of freedom is more negative, e.g. the child must not be blamed, or treated harshly, or made to learn unmeaning formularies by heart; Owen's teacher does not come to his work with a full training but only with an attitude to the work. Indeed there is no mention by Owen of the necessity for the teacher's own personality having play. He has no idea of the development of imagination in the child's training, by opportunities for discovery or learning through discovery, or for individual aesthetic appreciation: for these we must wait many years, or for Froebel's view that children, especially those under six, do not need to be taught: what they need is opportunity for development. Owen could never accept the almost casual selection of the content of instruction casual only in

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\* Note 102(1): But see the well-known passage in Pestalozzi - "How Gertrude...." p.17. Quoted in Appendix.

\*\* Note 102(2): Cf. Murray & Brown-Smith Op.cit. pp.149-154 Quoted in Appendix and Cf. Emile's - "well-regulated liberty": "The education of the earliest years should be merely negative. It consists not in teaching virtue or truth, but in preserving the heart from vice and from the spirit of error" (Emile) M.P. Stevens - "Activities Curriculum in the Primary Grades" (1931) p.4. "Growth, rather than skill and information is the criterion of success." and Rugg and Shumaker - "Child-centred School" p.102(1928) "The new school organizes itself around the child's intention to learn; the old school organized itself around the teacher's intention to teach him."

\*\*\* Note 102(3): Cf. Froebel - "Education of Man" p.30 on importance of play - Quoted in Appendix.

\*\*\*\* Note 102(4): Cf. Dr. Gräser's remarkable anticipations of later theory at Bayreuth (Bache pp.291-293) Quoted in Appendix.

\*\*\*\* Note 102(5): Cf. Froebel's definition of Kindergarten, quoted in Appendix. and Murray and Brown-Smith, Op.cit. p.5, quoted in Appendix. and Dewey - "The School and the Child," p.31, and p.38, quoted in Appendix.

For a gloomy view of ed. in 1857 see Tate Op.cit. passim.



1. Pupils must propose what they actually do.

2. They should be allowed to do only those things which will build up certain attitudes.

3. All learning should be done only if it is necessary for what the pupils have actually proposed.

4. What the pupils are allowed to do should be guided so as to enrich the subsequent stream of experience.

It would be unfair to criticise Owen's methods, however, as if the "New Education" were perfect, since on both sides weaknesses can be found, and neither will satisfy all criteria of soundness. Thus it must be conceded that there is much of excellence in the "New

Education's" starting out from the child's interests and from these proceeding to form a curriculum: it will be found, however, that, as Rusk observes, the child will not in this way acquire some bodies of knowledge which are of value to a mature mind; that much knowledge, e.g. elementary arithmetic, requires practice to the point of saturation of interest; and that some interests, and these perhaps the most valuable, are only acquired after much laborious routine work.

On the other hand Owen's methods and those of his contemporaries were at times open to the charge of starting from the opposite extreme, not from the child's interests but from those of a rather pedantic adult with a craze for systematized knowledge. The point which is worthy of notice, is, however, that Owen was much more

keenly alive to the flaws in contemporary methods and at least aimed at, if he did not by any means always achieve, the via media between the two extremes, which indeed has proved in practice to be the path

chosen by most progressive teachers of the present day.

\* Note 105(1): Cf. Rusk - "Doctrines of the Great Educators," p.

\*\* Note 105(2): Cf. Ferriere - "The Activity School" p. 189, the opposite extreme from the monitorial system: "...we attempted after the vacation to reintroduce a regular schedule of lessons; but this did not last a week, for everyone found the arbitrary interruptions and the arbitrary hours fixed for each subject to be very repugnant."

\*\*\* Note 105(3): Cf. Murray & Brown-Smith Op. cit. p. for the factor that matter most in the infant school - Quoted in Appendix.



he was feeling his way quite certainly towards the idea of education  
as a process, which, in McCallister's words, "connects the thing  
taught, whatever it may be, (1) with the social or communal or human  
ideals that sustain and preserve it, and (2) with the life aspirat-  
ions of the pupil."

Of the factors which relate the educative process and freedom,  
McCallister continues:- "we may say that the fundamental factors in  
any moment of a truly educative process are (1) an individual value  
that seeks a fuller contact with (2) nature itself, or with some  
communal value, which is in some respects fuller, more satisfying,  
more suggestive than the individual value, and (3) a principle of  
freedom that makes the union of these two values more vital and  
secure. Where the two are in vital rapport, we have freedom in  
education....."

(Op.cit.p.8.)

That Owen's idealism and his idea of freedom went as far as they  
did in a generation whose finest fruit seemed, in education, to be  
the monitorial system, is no small tribute.

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\* Note 104(1): "Growth of Freedom in Education", p.4.



the environment in the most general sense, that is, the nature of the universe, implies that there exists a Being who created life for some definite purpose. If so, then the value of the changes which education has to produce in each individual must be judged by the extent to which they enable each individual to fulfill that purpose. The main problem, if such a view of education is correct, is to find out what that purpose is, and the supporters of the different religious faiths all attempt to give an answer to this problem."

## CHAPTER VI.

### APPENDIX I.

Note 75(3): Dewey - "School and the Child," 1901.

#### NOTES.

"The pedagogical problem is to direct the child's power of observation, to nurture his sympathetic interest in characteristic traits of the world in which he lives, to afford interesting material for later more special studies, and yet to supply a carrying medium for the variety of facts and ideas through the dominant spontaneous emotions and thoughts of the child."

Note 77(2): Herbert - "Outlines of Social Doctrine" (1900) p. 69.

"For Association the best mode of procedure is informal conversation, because it gives the pupil an opportunity to test and to change the accidental union of his thoughts, to multiply the links of connection, and to assimilate, after his own fashion, what he has learned. It enables him, besides, to do at least a part of all this in any way that happens to be the easiest and most convenient."



the environment in the most general sense, that is, the nature of the universe, implies that there exists a Being who created life for some definite purpose. If so, then the value of the changes which education has to produce in each individual must be judged by the extent to which they enable each individual to fulfil that purpose. The main problem, if such a view of education is correct, is to find out what that purpose is, and the supporters of the different religious faiths all attempt to give an answer to this problem."

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Note 75(3): Dewey - "The School and the Child." p.64.

"The pedagogical problem is to direct the child's power of observation, to nurture his sympathetic interest in characteristic traits of the world in which he lives, to afford interpreting material for later more special studies, and yet to supply a carrying medium for the variety of facts and ideas through the dominant spontaneous emotions and thoughts of the child."

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Note 77(2): Herbart - "Outline of Educ.Doctrine (Lange), p.69.

"For Association the best mode of procedure is informal conversation, because it gives the pupil an opportunity to test and to change the accidental union of his thoughts, to multiply the links of connection, and to assimilate, after his own fashion, what he has learned. It enables him, besides, to do at least a part of all this in any way that happens to be the easiest and most convenient."

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occupations of childhood and boyhood. The more quietly, the more deliberately, the less playfully the child contemplates things, the more solid the foundations it is laying for its future knowledge and judgment. The child is divided between desiring, noting and imagining. Which of the three should we wish to have the preponderance? Neither the first nor the third; out of desiring and imagining originates the controlling power of whims and delusions. Whereas in noting originates a knowledge of the nature of things. Such knowledge produces submission to recognised necessity the only compulsion Rousseau approved and recommended, and which in its turn originates reflective action and a thoughtful choice of means."

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Note 77(3): Pestalozzi - "How Gertrude...." p.26.

"the child must be brought to a high degree of knowledge, both of things seen and words, before it is reasonable to teach him to spell or read, that at their earliest age children need psychological training in apprehending objects intuitively in an intelligent manner."

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Note 77(4): Rusk - "Doctrines of the Great Educators." p.191.

"The name, indeed, appertains rather to the apperceptive aspect of apprehension than to intuitive apprehension. The aspects of Anschauung, which Pestalozzi distinguishes, number, form, and name, although referred to as elementary, are not simple, for forms are the products of a combining activity of mind; likewise are numbers. The argument by which Pestalozzi excludes from Anschauung the elements of sense-perception like colour is not convincing. It should also be remarked that the temporal aspects of things are ignored, and as a consequence Pestalozzi, limits Anschauung to objects which are static and does not embrace in his conception



analysis of Anschauung which, though psychologically incomplete and defective, enabled him to secure a groundwork for each of the elementary subjects, to throw new light on the relation of these one to the other, to introduce into the primary school a training in Anschauung and to demonstrate that actual experience of things is the foundation of all knowledge."

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Note 78(1): Herbart - "Minor Ped. Works." p.34.

"But the memorising of names or sentences, of definitions, and the seeming carelessness whether all this was understood, made me doubt and caused me to inquire. Pestalozzi answered me with a counter-question: 'If the children did not think in doing it, would they learn so swiftly and cheerfully?' I had seen the cheerfulness. I had no explanation for it, unless I assumed that it was accompanied by inner activity. Continuing the conversation, however, Pestalozzi led me to the idea that, after all, the intrinsic comprehensibleness of the instruction is a matter of far greater importance than that the child should understand on the instant what is taught at that instant. Most of what was memorised related to subjects of the children's daily sense-perceptions. The child hearing a description in the mind left the school, met with the object, and thought it did not comprehend the sense of the words until now, did comprehend it more perfectly than if the teacher had attempted to explain his words by other words. The happy moments of comprehension, and especially those of deeper pondering and connection, in short, of reflection, do not fall exactly within determinate lesson periods. Let the lesson give what is comprehensible and set together that which belongs together. Time and opportunity will afterwards supply the concept and will correlate what was set forth together."



person shall then take, may have the most important effects upon his whole character..... When a new existence seems to descend upon him, and to double all that he was before; who then shall watch his thoughts and guide his actions?"

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Note 80(1): N.M.W. June 20, 1835 - refers to speech of Brougham in House of Lords on 21st May, 1835. It repeats some of it:

"The child is, at three and four, and even partially at two and under, perfectly capable of receiving that sort of knowledge which forms the basis of all education..... the truth is that he can learn, and does learn, a great deal more before that age (six years) than all he ever learns or can learn in all his after life..... good habits may be acquired, and the pain of learning be almost destroyed ....." "

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Note 80(1): Newnham - "Principles of Education" (1827) I. 532.

"This (infancy) then is an important period, and one during which the character may be permanently and efficiently stamped; and therefore every opportunity it presents should be improved with niggard care, to the happiness of the child."

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Note 79(2):

"If a child was neglected till six years of age, no subsequent education could recover it. If to that age it was brought up in dissipation and ignorance....., it was in vain to attempt to reclaim it by teaching it reading and writing. They might teach what they chose afterwards; but if they had not prevented the formation of bad habits, they taught in vain." (Brougham - Hansard II. 87, 1820)



ren, he reads far better in the book of nature; his thoughts are not in his tongue but in his brain; he has less memory and more judgment; he can only speak one language, but he understands what he is saying, and if his speech is not so good as that of other children, his deeds are better."

(p.124.)

"I see him (a child of 10 or 12 years) keen, eager, and full of life, free from gnawing cares and painful forebodings, absorbed in this present state, and delighting in a fullness of life which seems to extend beyond himself..... As they are entering the room, I catch a glimpse of books. Books, what dull food for a child of his age! The poor child allows himself to be dragged away...."

(p.123.)

Re art - "Nature should be his only teacher, and things his only models. He should have the real thing before his eyes, not its copy on paper."

(p.108.)

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Note 81(5): Wilderspin - "System" (p.13.)

"The development and cultivation of the intellectual powers are but of secondary importance to the enobling of the heart and disposition..... Our first object is to make the thing which is good appear beautiful to the children, and everything which is evil odious; to win their affections and secure the control of their hearts, by enforcing on them the golden rule of their favour, of so doing to others as they wish others should do unto them; of inculcating the heavenly principle of love and charity to all; of leading their minds through natural objects, such as a twig, a flower, an apple, a fly, a wasp, and such like..... and the amazement they display on hearing God's book of nature explained, is truly encouraging and delightful....."



to Owen as an inspiration grew on Froebel to be a reasoned truth, and like Owen he put it into practice."

Note 84(3): Wilderspin - "System" p.59, 61.

"Q. "In what class does a flower belong that has only one stamen

"A. "The class monandria; and those with two, diandria; with three, triandria..... with twelve, dodecandria, etc...."

And

"Q. "What does the word 'pentandria' mean?"

"A. "The word pentrandria means five stamens, pent meaning five, and andria meaning stamens."

Note 87(1): Dewey - "The School and the Child."

"The history work depends on an appreciation of the natural environment as affording resources and presenting problems...."

(p.120)

and, "considerable attention is paid to the physiography, mountains, rivers, plains, and lines of natural travel and exchange, flora and fauna of each of the colonies. This is connected with field excursions in order that the child may be able to supply from observation..... the data to be used by constructive imagination in reproducing more remote environments."

(p.120)

Note 87(3): Dewey - "School and Society" pp.104-105.

"In this general scheme three periods or phases are recognized: first comes the generalized and simplified history - history which is hardly history at all in the local or chronological sense, but which aims at giving the child insight into, and sympathy with, a variety of social activities. This period includes the work of the



working out the evolution of inventions and their effect upon life; and of the eight-year-old children in dealing with the great movements of migration, exploration and discovery which have brought the whole round world into human ken. The work of the first two periods is evidently quite independent of any particular people or any particular person - that is, of historical data in the strict sense of the term. At the same time, plenty of scope is provided through dramatization for the introduction of the individual factor. The account of the great explorers and the discoverers serves to make the transition to what is local and specific, that which depends upon certain specified persons who lived at certain specified places and times."

(p. 103.)

"This introduces us to the second period, where local conditions and the definite activities of particular bodies of people become prominent - corresponding to the child's growth in power of dealing with limited and positive fact. Since Chicago, since the United States, are localities with which the child can, by the nature of the case, most effectively deal, the material of the next three years is derived directly and indirectly from this source. Here again the third year is a transitional year, taking up the connections of American life with European. By this time the child should be ready to deal.... with certain thoroughly differentiated and, so to speak, peculiar types of social life; with the special significance of each, and the particular contribution it has made to the whole world history. Accordingly, in the next period the chronological order is followed, beginning with the ancient world about the Mediterranean and coming down again through European history to the peculiar and differentiating factors of American history."

(p.104.)



- Greengrocer's shop: Home and foreign fruit  
Packing of fruit.  
Rail lines.  
Docks. Jam factories.
- B. Grocer's shop: Flour & oatmeal - origin of.  
Farm-dairy. Making of butter and cheese.  
Mill.  
Woolen factories.
- C. China shop. Pottery districts.
- D. Foreign Goods. Furs.  
Dates.  
Cotton.  
Cocoa.

### History Syllabus.

Development of Industries : spinning, weaving: distaff  
spinning-wheel, loom.  
Growth of pottery and development of cooking.  
..... roads and means of travelling.

Note 88(2): Whitehead - "Aims of Education and Other Essays." p.1.

"Culture is activity of thought, and receptiveness to beauty and human feeling. Scraps of information, have nothing to do with it. A merely well informed man is the most useless bore on God's earth."



ly sensitive to understand every human passion, and calm enough to be free from passion. If there is any time in our life when this study is likely to be appreciated, it is this that I have chosen for Emile; before this time men would have been strangers to him; later on he would have been like them."

"With its (history's) help he will read the hearts of men without any lessons in philosophy; with its help he will view them as a mere spectator, dispassionate and without prejudice; he will view them as their judge, not as their accomplice or their accuser."

(p.199.)

It is  
^ difficult to use history for moral training because:

(1) "We only hear what is bad; the good is scarcely mentioned. Only the wicked become famous, the good are forgotten or laughed to scorn, and thus history, like philosophy, is for ever slandering mankind."

(p.199.)

(2) "history shows us actions rather than men, because she only seizes men at certain chosen times in full dress; she only portrays the statesman when he is prepared to be seen; she does not follow him to his home, to his study, among his family and his friends; she only shows him in state; it is his clothes rather than himself that she describes."

(p.202.)

(3) "the play of every human passion offers lessons to any one who will study history to make himself wise and good at the expense of those who went before."

(p.205.)

and many detached observations of the greatest value, for the cultivation of benevolence in the infant mind."



not happen to be just what is wanted to enable the educand to meet his responsibilities in life."

(p. 201.)

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Note 91(1): Edgeworth - Practical Education" (1811) Vol. I. Preface V.

"We have found, from experience, that an early knowledge of science may be given in conversation and may insensibly be acquired from the usual incidents of life...."

And Vol. I. 434: "Natural history is a study particularly suited to children: it cultivates their talents for observation, applies to objects within their reach, and to objects which are every day interesting to them."

They therefore recommend White of Selbourne's "Naturalist's Calendar."

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Note 92(1): Pestalozzi : "Leonard and Gertrude," p. 130.

"Although Gertrude exerted herself to develop very early the manual dexterity of her children, she was in no haste for them to learn to read and write. But she took pains to teach them early how to speak; for as she said, 'of what use is it for a person to be able to read and write, if he cannot speak?' - 'since reading and writing are only an artificial sort of speech'....."

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Note 94(2): 1818 Encyclopedia Britannica. p. 27.

"We have several books now in our own language, in particular those of Miss Edgeworth, which afford many finely selected instances and many detached observations of the greatest value, for the cultivation of benevolence in the infant mind."



Note 101(1): Brougham in "Parliamentary Debates" Hansard 2nd Series.

II, 77-78. Proposed Rules:

- (1). "That the parson.... should fix the course of teaching according to the state of the parish."
- (2). "The Scriptures alone to be taught, the pastor fixing, if he pleased, the passages to be rehearsed from time to time."
- (3). "No other religious book to be taught, nor any book, without the consent of the parson."
- (4). "The children to attend church once every Sunday either with their parents or with the master."
- (5). "That there should be a school-meeting every Sunday evening for teaching the Church catechism and other portions of the Liturgy.... and all children to attend except those of such Dissenters as might object."

Note 102(1): Pestalozzi - "How Gertrude Teaches her Children", p.17.

"The result of attending to this perfecting of the early stages far outran my expectations. It quickly developed in the children a consciousness of hitherto unknown power, and particularly a general sense of beauty and order. They felt their own power, and the tediousness of the ordinary school-tone vanished like a ghost from my rooms. They wished - tried - persevered - succeeded, and they laughed. Their tone was not that of learners, it was the tone of unknown powers awakened from sleep; of a heart and mind exalted with the feeling of what these powers could and would lead them to do."



miniature; that is, she must provide abundant raw material and opportunities for experience."

(p.149.)

- (2) "The method of gaining experience lies through Play and that by this road we can best reach work."

(p.149.)

- (3) "We find, in the child's spontaneous choice, the nature of the surroundings and of the activities that he craves for; in other words, he makes his own curriculum and selects his own subject matter."

(p.152.)

- (4) "The atmosphere of freedom is the only atmosphere in which a child can gain experiences that will help to develop character and control conduct."

(p.154.)

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Note 102(3): Froebel - "Education of Man" p.30.

(Play) "the highest phase of child-development - of human development at this period; for it is self-active representation of the inner - representation of the inner from inner necessity and impulse. Play is the purest, most spiritual activity of man at this stage, and, at the same time, typical of human life as a whole - of the inner hidden, natural life in man and all things. It gives, therefore, joy, freedom, contentment, inner and outer rest, peace with the world. It holds the source of all that is good."

But, he continues, the child's play must be guided:-

"Without rational, conscious guidance, childish activity degenerates into aimless play instead of preparing for those tasks of life for which it is destined.... In the Kindergarten the



their development.... human education needs a guide which I think I have found in a general law of development that rules both in nature and in the intellectual world. Without law-abiding guidance there is no free development."

(Reminiscences of Fred. Froebel." by Marenholz - Bülow,  
trans. by Mann, p.67. <sup>Quoted Rusk</sup>  
Op.cit.)

Note 102(4): Bache - "Report of Education in Europe." pp.291-3,  
mentions the main principles of the system used by Dr. Graser at  
Bayreuth:

- (1) "Subjects" rejected.
- (2) Importance of positive knowledge discounted.
- (3) School must prepare for actual life.
- (4) All instruction should be grouped according to the wants  
of some particular mode of life.

Note 102(5): Dewey - "The School and the Child."

"Guidance is not external imposition. It is freeing the life-  
process for its own most adequate fulfilment." (p.31.)

"He (the teacher) is concerned with the subject-matter of the  
science as representing a given stage and phase of the development of  
experience. His problem is that of inducing a vital and personal  
experiencing. Hence, what concerns him, as teacher, are the ways in  
which that subject may become a part of experience; what there is in  
the child's present that is usable with reference to it; how such  
elements are to be used; how his own knowledge of the subject-matter  
may assist in interpreting the child's needs and doings, and determine  
the medium in which the child should be placed in order that his  
growth may be properly directed. He is concerned not with the subject  
matter as a related factor in a total and growing experience. Thus  
to see it is to psychologise it."

(p.38.)



of construction in the child, as a member of the family, or the nation and of humanity; an institution for the self-instruction, self-education, and self-cultivation of mankind, as well as for all-sided development of the individual through play, through creative self-activity and spontaneous self-instruction."

(2) "We also need establishments for training quite young children in their first stage of educational development, where their training and instruction shall be based upon their own free action or spontaneity acting under proper rules, these rules not being arbitrarily decreed, but such as must arise by logical necessity from the child's mental and bodily nature, regarding him as a member of the great human family; such rules as are, in fact, discovered by the actual observation of children when associated together in companies. These establishments bear the name of Kindergartens."

(Murray & Smith Op.cit. p.5.)

Note 103(3): Murray and Brown-Smith, Op.cit.p

The factors that matter most in the infants school are these:

- (1) The personality of the teacher must have full play.
- (2) Respect must be paid to the individuality, the "divine essence", of each child.
- (3) The making of right associations, the seeing of things in their right relations.
- (4) The forming of good habits.
- (5) Opportunities, e.g. of appreciating, discovering, are more important than results.
- (6) Cultivation of the imagination "from which spring both morality and spirituality."
- (7) Freedom of body and soul.



subjects down his throat before he is mature enough to digest them ..... (p.I25): 'Science deals with concrete things appropriate to young children . Yet the subject is usually reserved until adolescence has awakened a desire for more idealistic and romantic interests ' .

P.I25 : 'bookishness' of history and geography.

P.I30 : 'The school should be above all things a place for children to get the habit of being happy' .

P.I37 : 'A feeling of budding power over his environment in an individual is perhaps the most educational experience he can have ' .



...given to reading widely even in a subject in which he was intensely interested, there had been one major development of a practical kind to which almost certainly he did owe some of his theory and practice in education. That was the school of industry. In many ways this had more affinity with Owen's ideas than had any other part of the educational system of the time.

In "New Moral World" IV. 40, he says: "The children should be trained from their earliest age in the most useful occupations, varied as they advance in age and knowledge." : and this combination of useful work with education proper was of the essence of the school of industry.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE SCHOOL OF INDUSTRY AND OWEN.

'We hope to see the day when ... the use of productive labour ..... as a means of education will be generally adopted'.

Education," ed. Gaskell, 1836. (Hill - 'National Ed.', 1836).

'I could wish to see established in every parish Schools of industry for poor girls'.

(Trimmer - 'Oec. of Charity', 1792).

most effectual remedy for this that we are able to conceive, and which we therefore humbly propose, is that in the proposed new Law to be enacted, it be further provided that working schools be set up in every parish, to which children of all such as cannot be relieved of the parish, above three and under fourteen years of age,

...of age in N.E.V. 40-45 they are to become "apprentices" to the domestic arrangements and duties for some hours in the day. The Leeds Dispensary said (W. Owen's Establishment, 1816, p. 10) that Owen proposed that children "should begin to work in the spin room when in the 4th, 5th or 6th year of age, and continue to work every year up to 14 years."

Ed. Gaskell - Owen's Theory of Education, p. 19.



Rousseau, Herbart and others were contributing, since he was not given to reading widely even in a subject in which he was intensely interested, there had been one major development of a practical kind to which almost certainly he did owe some of his theory and practice in education. That was the school of industry. In many ways this had more affinity with Owen's ideas than had any other part of the educational system of the time.

In "New Moral World" IV. 40, he says: "The children should be trained from their earliest age in the most useful occupations, varied as they advance in age and knowledge." : and this combination of useful work with education proper was of the essence of the school of industry.

The latter was a well-established institution in England, its cause having been advocated by thinkers as long before Owen as Deane. Defoe ("Everybody's Business is Nobody's Business," 1725), Baxter ("The Poor Husbandman's Advocate to Rich Racking Landlords," ed. Powicke, 1926) and Locke, who declared ("On Education," ed. Quick, Appendix A) : "The children of labouring people are an ordinary burden to the parish, and are usually maintained in idleness, so that their labour also is generally lost to the public till they are twelve or fourteen years old. The most effectual remedy for this that we are able to conceive, and which we therefore humbly propose, is that in the fore-mentioned new law to be enacted, it be further provided that working schools be set up in every parish, to which children of all such as demand relief of the parish, above three and under fourteen years of age,

\* Note 105(1): Cf. programme of studies for children from 5-10 years of age in N.M.W.V. 68-69: they are to become "assistants in the domestic arrangements and gardens for some hours in the day." The Leeds Deputation said (Mr. Owen's Establishment... "1819, p. 8") that Owen proposed that children "would begin to work in the open one hour in the day, at six years of age, and increase one hour every year up to twelve".

\*\* Cf. Bellers - Op. cit.; Turner - Op. cit., p. 69.



discipline both of Church and of manual work. This seemed more promising than to go on feebly experimenting with e.g. the "Corporation of the Poor," set up in 1647 to find work, lend out apprentices and set up houses of correction for punishing rogues, etc.

There was, too, the influence exerted by the work of the continental pietist, Francke, author of "Pietas Halliensis, or an Historical Narrative of the Orphan House and Other Charitable Institutions at Glaucha near Halle in Saxony," (1709).  
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In this respect then Owen was following a fairly well-established practice in England: the actual practice of combining industry and schooling dated from the 17th century at latest, when it had seemed a sound way of dealing with the vast flotsam of pauperism: Gregory King in his "Natural and Political Observations and Conclusions upon the State and Condition of England," 1696, (ed. by G. Chambers 1804) said that about 1688 more than half the population was a charge upon the community.

To remedy this condition Thos. Firmin, a philanthropist, published in 1681, "Some Proposals for the Employment of the Poor for the Prevention of Idleness," in which he described a plan used by him since 1775 at Little Britain: he had set up a factory and school, taking children from three years, who were taught reading until they were old enough to spin, after which, from about the age of five, they had an interval for reading. By the time they were six years old, they might earn 2d. or 3d. per day. When they were old enough to be apprenticed, they were sent out. In 1680 the outlay was £4,000 showing a loss of £200 on the year's work.

\* Note 106(1): Cf. also Locke - "Report to Board of Trade," 1697; Bellers - "Proposals for Raising a Colledge of Industry," 1695.

\*\* Note 106(2): How deeply imbued with a religious meaning Francke's plan was can be seen from the title of a work he published in 1702: "Kurzer und emfaltiger Unterricht wie die Kinder zur wahren Gottseligkeit and christlichen Klugheit anzufuhren sind." See Paulson - "German Education Past & Present." pp. 118-119.

\*\*\* Note 106(3): Cf. also Firmin - "Fathers of the Poor"; B. Kirkman Gray - "History of English Philanthropy" (1905).



Manners in London and Westminster and other parts of the Kingdom," 1699; the desire to cut down wages in view of foreign trade competition and to use children for the new machines where before men had been needed, and a growing belief in the value of catechetical instruction.

There was one great difference between the continental and the English schools of industry: in Francke's school the day of seven hours was divided into two parts, half being given to religious discipline and reading, half to the discipline of labour - a division which had proved so successful that it had been partly instrumental in persuading Frederick William I. of Prussia to make attendance at the elementary school compulsory (Cf. Paulsen - Op.cit p.138) in 1716.

In England, however, a variety of circumstances led to a great reduction in the time allowed for instruction. For one thing there was the social-religious view of the need to discipline the poor. In the 18th century, the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, founded by Thomas Bray, etc. in 1698, had coordinated the immense charity-school movement and had exerted a widespread influence in education; among its other services issuing valuable, though unavoidably incomplete, reports - "Accounts of Charity Schools in Gt. Britain and Ireland, being the Annual Reports of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge on the State of the Charity Schools" (1704-1800). Of its work M.G. Jones says: "...the London S.P.C.K. did not manage and only rarely financed the schools. Local control was the basis of its scheme. Its policy was to excite the interest and support of the

\*Note 107(1): Cf. Stow - "Training System" (1854) p.48.

\*\*Note 107(2): Cf. Haines - "Prevention of Poverty" quoted by Gray, Op.cit: "great numbers of poor families who have little to do...unle in harvest... might hereby the most profitably be set to work constantly... not only men but also women, boyes and girles, that ca do little thing beside it." Cf. also Firmin - "Proposals for Employment of Poor", p.38.

\*\*\*Note 107(3): Cf. Turnbull - "Educat. Theory of J.G. Fichte" (1926) p.39

\*\*\*Note 107(4): M.G. Jones - "Charity School Movement in 18th Cent" (1938) p.41, Cf. "Some Account of Life of Mrs. Trimmer" (1804) I.175-181; 191



instruction the backbone of education in all sorts and conditions of schools. It served both as an appointments bureau for teachers and as an insurance society for courageous parishes which responded to its appeals. As a central directing body it helped London and country schools to hold their own against apathy and obstruction. The value of its work may be measured by the decline of the charity school movement in England when the Society's interests were diverted from the schools to the foreign mission field and to the development of a great publishing connection."

With the introduction of some occupation in many "working" schools, following the example of Firmin, etc., the S.P.C.K. found it necessary to recommend a similar step in order to "obviate an objection to the charity schools that they tend to take the poor children from off these servile offices which are necessary in all communities and for which the Wise Governor of the World had by his Providence designed them." \*

The move to incorporate industry, spinning, farming, etc. - in the school curriculum was brought about by an uneasy feeling among the middle classes that too much schooling might unfit the poorer classes for which they seemed so clearly predestined - the very opposite of Owen's motive in extending education among the poor. "There must be drudges of labour.... as well as Counsellors to direct and Rulers to preside..... To which of these classes we belong especially the more inferior ones, our birth determines... These poor children are born to be daily labourers.... It is evident that, if such children are, by charity, brought up in a manner that is only proper to qualify them for a rank to which they ought not to aspire, such a child would be injurious to the Community." (Sermon by the

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\*Note 108(1): S.P.C.K. Circular letter 1719, quoted by Jones, Op.cit. p.92. Cf. also M. Marryot - "Account of the Workhouses in Great Britain." (1725).



of humility and submission to superiors, ; of the prayer of the g-  
charity school in Sheffield in "The Poor Girls' Primer: for use in  
the Sheffield Girls' Charity School, 1789, (quoted by Birchenough,  
Op.cit.p.190.) :-

"Make me dutiful and obedient to my benefactors, and charitable  
to my enemies. Make me temperate and chaste, meek and patient, true  
in all my dealings and content and industrious in my station."

These instances could be multiplied. The social idea behind  
the establishment of these industrial schools was strictly orthodox  
for the times and was in fact backed by such unexceptionable  
characters as Mrs. Trimmer, (Cf. "Deconomy of Charity" I.Bol.pp.190-  
296), who had noted, with disquiet, that children might be kept "in  
one particular branch of the manufactory for which their size will  
disqualify them after a few years, when they are turned into the  
world unacquainted with any useful art to gain a livelihood," and  
she believed that some more hopeful avenue should be opened to them  
through the schools. \*\*

In 1796 Pitt proposed that children whose parents were receiv-  
ing poor relief, should be compelled to attend a school of industry.  
This proposal was rejected, and the work of extending the existing  
schools of industry was left to voluntary effort, which, enthusiastic  
at first and successful in individual cases, found many of the  
schools - not, however, those which gave domestic training <sup>economic</sup> ~~domestic~~  
failures. Criticism was not lacking - that spinning schools were as  
harmful to health as any factories; † and that the schools competed

\* Note 109(1): Watts - "Essay on Charity & Charity Schools" (1724) p.VI.  
Cf. also: "Sermon preached in the Church of St. Nicholas, Rochester, on  
the occasion of the Introduction of Sunday Schools, June 24, 1785"  
(quoted Jones, p.147): "The children should be taught to read and be  
instructed in the plain duties of the Christian Religion with a  
particular view to their future character as labourers and servants!"

\*\* Note 109(2): Cf. "Some Account of Life & Writings of Mrs. Trimmer (1814)  
II.260ff. where she gives a "Narrative of the Rise and Progress of  
the Charity School in Liverpool from the Year 1709 to 1755.." in  
which oakum-picking was combined with the three R's. (Quoted in  
Appendix.) † Cf. Trimmer - Op.cit.p.77: every minute of the week  
to be filled for the poor.



under an active zeal or the first promoters, yet, when after a few years' trial they are left to the superintendence of less interested administrators, they dwindle into the ordinary state of the parish poor house."

From 1796 the "Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comfort of the Poor" did its best to establish schools of industry, for a while with fair success; and in 1809 appeared a valuable work - Sir Thomas Bernard's "Of the Education of the Poor, a Digest of the Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor and Containing a Selection of those Articles which have a Reference to Education." (London, 1809.)

There are several features about it which recall Owen's premises. In the first place, we find a staunch belief in the moral and social value of education, based however in this case on religious principles. "I am aware," says the Digest (p.4.)

"that there have been many, and still are some pious and conscientious Christians, who dread the consequences of a general diffusion even of elementary knowledge among the poor. The miseries which have attended the very name of equality in a neighbouring Kingdom, have excited an alarm as to everything which can tend to equalize the powers of man....."

And again, "....Without waiting to receive the Gospel from others, they (the poor) have as much right of access to its treasures by education, as they have to be admitted to Christ's Church by baptism." (Op.cit. p.7.)

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\* Note 110(1): Owen has been called the first British writer to grasp the meaning of the Industrial Revolution - "Life of Robert Owen," Introd. by M. Beer. Cf. Bellers - Op.cit.p.174: 'Though learning is useful, yet a vertuous industrious ed. tends more to happiness'

\*\* Note 110(2): There was never at any time any intention of upholding the schools of industry on the modern view of handicrafts and domestic work as at the moment, "giving scope for interests which the child feels to be vital." (Findlay - "Foundations of Education.")







were present, read a sermon, and conversed with the old people who attended." (Op.cit.p.114.)

The greatest emphasis was placed on habits of regular industry and thrift. The other object was to keep the children away from the corrupting influence of the workhouse Cf. "Digest" (p.191): the school of industry separates "the parish children from the contagion of those dissolute and profligate characters which are to be found in all workhouses....." \*\*\*

The benefits of the schools are summed up in "Digest" (p.203) : "without that excess of labour or confinement which is exclusive of amusement, and injurious to health, it provides for their education, and prepares them for their course through life, by early habits of order, cleanliness and application..... To parents it is of no small importance in that it fits their children to get their own bread, while young; and by the profits of their work, supplies, at present, almost all the expense of their food and clothing, at an age when they are too young to go into service." †

(2) Much of the time passed in the school was spent in industrial work, e.g. spinning, knitting, sewing, housework, mending; making clothes, gloves, stockings, hats, infants' shoes and socks; platting straw, winding, weaving, gardening, farming, cooking, helping pin-makers, etc. ††

Usually spinning-wheels were lent and materials provided. At Bamburgh, where the school took in sewing at half-price, the special

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\* Note 112(1): For this, one of the most interesting phases of education in the late 18th century see "The Mendip Annals, the Journal of Martha More," ed. by A. Roberts (1859). "The Letters of Hannah More" ed. by Brinley Johnson (1925), "Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Hannah More" by W. Roberts (1835) H. Thompson "Life of Hannah More," (1838) and "Works of Hannah More" (1854) Vols. I - XI.

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\*\*Note 112(2): Cf. Stow - "Training System" p.48.

† Cf. Trimmer - Op.cit.p.74 : clothing of poor.

†† For extension of this scheme of work see Note 112(3) in App.p.II.



from the profit in selling the goods made by the pupils. In a few schools girls were admitted to live there all the time, till they were fourteen years old, the expense being met by their work. ("Digest" p.199.). Often a soup-kitchen was set up, as in the Kendal Day Schools (Report XC.), established in 1799. Here out of 112 pupils, the 30 older girls were engaged in spinning, knitting, sewing and housework; the 36 younger girls in knitting only; 8 boys in shoe-making; 38 boys in "card-setting". The reading-master was a youth of 18. All the pupils had breakfast at the School every day except Saturday and Sunday.

(4) The ages of the children in attendance varied from as young as two years to about twelve years. <sup>\*\*</sup> This is especially relevant to Owen's practice. Cf. "Digest" (p.141) on the Day Schools at Weston (Report XCVII), started about 1795: "(the children) attend the schools so early as at two years old: each of the little ones being put under the tutelage and care of one of the older children, and being taught the Lord's Prayer, and to be attentive, and quiet during school hours: Their parents are, in consequence of their admission to the schools, enabled to go out to work, and to carry their labour to the best and most advantageous market."

The professed aim of these Schools is almost that of Owen's, "the making of them.... habitually kind and affectionate to each other."

Towards the end of their schooling two results might occur:-

(a) Their parents and friends learning their value, become

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\* Note 113(1): Cf. "Digest" p.205 and p.199. Quoted in Appendix.

\*\* Note 113(2): Cf. "Some Account of Life of Mrs. Trimmer" (1814) I.148 where Sunday School admitted "little creatures of not more than four or five years old." She saw nothing wrong with girls of five years spinning flax. (Op.cit.p.69)



"as the habits of order and industry, which the children acquire there, render them so desirable as apprentices, that though there has been heretofore a difficulty in finding situations in private families for any parish children, because they come out of a work-house, yet they are now sought for, and the parish is relieved from the expense of their maintenance at a much earlier age, than if they had been kept in the work-house." (Op.cit.p.190.)

The period they were allowed by their parents to remain in the school of industry varied with the parents - who usually took them away as soon as the children could earn more elsewhere. This might be after only six months at the school. ("Digest" p.189.)

The significant point is, in Owen's general view, that the value, individual and social, of the children has been enhanced by this slight training: how much greater, then, would it be if the training were much extended and refined in quality! This extra training Owen made it his aim to outline in "New Moral World," Part V.

(5) The subjects taught varied - usually reading and religion, sometimes writing and elementary arithmetic ("Digest" p.193.), but the time allowed was woefully short, e.g. one hour per day at Kendal (pp.123-139), in a working day extending from 8 a.m. till 1 p.m. and 2 p.m. till 7 p.m. (Oakham, p.179.)

(6) One of the great attractions was that the pupils could earn a little each week, e.g. at Fincham ("Digest" p.207) they earned as much as 2/10d. per week. The Birmingham school, the "Asylum for the Infant Poor", founded in 1797, made £3,000 profit in seven years (p.212). At Oakham ("Digest,"p.179.) there was a rule that: "No persons to receive relief from the parish upon account of their families who refuse to send their children to the school: unless they can prove to the satisfaction of the overseers

\*Note 114(1): Cf. Lancaster - "Improvements in Education"  
\*\* Cf. Trimmer Op.cit. p.70, quoted in Gpp.114(2) (1806) p.168. Quoted in Appendix.



13 or 14 years; and "a separate account is kept of the produce of each girl's sale work; and such produce is laid out for them, in clothes and necessaries, at the end of the year." (Op.cit.p.107.)

At Lewisham an effort was made to benefit the adult population also: "Spinning wheels are lent, and materials are furnished at home for any of the adult inhabitants of the parish who wish employment; and they are paid for their work upon delivery. A suit of clothes, made of the cloth and camblet of their own manufacture, is yearly given to each of the children who attend the school." (Op.cit.p.184.)

(7) There was the same conscious faith in education as a social force as we find in Owen: "The absurd prejudices that have existed against extending the common and general benefits of education to the children of the poor,\* and the extraordinary supposition that an uneducated and neglected boy will prove an honest and useful man, - that a youth of ignorance and idleness will produce a mature age of industry and virtue, - are now in great measure exploded."

(Op.cit.p.237.)

(8) "No corporal correction is allowed except for lying, swearing, stealing, indecent language and immorality." ("Digest" p.107, on Boldre). This was probably the common practice.

(9) The tendency for the productive part of the school to overshadow the educational part:† the latter was sometimes only an after-thought. Cf. Letter from Wm. Corston (1805) quoted in the 1806 edition of Lancaster's "Improvements in Education" (p.129) : "Corston

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\* Note 115(1): Cf. 1826 Pamphlet: "Observations in the Causes of Failure in Education and Suggestions for Improvements in the Systems..." p.6: "A passive line of conduct is not the safest now as regards the education of operatives. The tide has taken its course" It refutes (p.8) the three objections that (1) juvenile delinquency has not been reduced by the spread of education. (2) Education makes the poor idle. (3) Education has provoked "the repeated combinations that have lately prevailed amongst seamen and workmen."

\*\* Note 115(2): See Note in Appendix.

† But at Gower's Walk a boy was not allowed to start printing work till he was proficient in the three R's. (Hill -Op.cit. p.20)



industry offered to Owen many suggestions for imitation in his later practice at New Lanark: how far he passed beyond the work-a-day home-spun of the schools of industry was due to his special foresight, if not genius, in interpreting the educational trends of his time, and his special contribution lay in finding a more just mean between the place of instruction and of labour, and in replacing the stilted underlying social doctrine based on an unenlightened religious view of social stratification, by one that offered more scope to the intellectual aspirations of the poor: his aim of moral improvement\* was the same as that of the school of industry, but his methods were based not on the influence of religious exhortation, but on character-development in a controlled environment.

CHAPTER VII.

APPENDIX I. - NOTES.

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\*Note 116(1): Owen would not have accepted Nunn's dictum ("Education - Its Data and First Principles") that "Educational efforts must, it would seem, be limited to securing for everyone the conditions under which individuality is most completely developed," since Owen thinks of development primarily as referable to a social context. The same applies to J.J. Findlay's "nurture of the human spirit" (Foundations of Education." I. 39.).



"We take the children into the school at eight years of age and put them through a preliminary to preliminary and then an apprenticeship. The method of the school is as follows: viz., one half of the day the boys are employed in picking cotton by which they earn a year's wages. The other half of the day is spent in school in reading, writing and common arithmetic." This was about 1880.

Note 111(1): "Digest," p. 56.

".....the only effective and lasting remedy for the moral evils of civil life is to be found in the system of religious and virtuous education."

## CHAPTER VII.

and, "The APPENDIX I. - NOTES. these children in society, with the advantage of better habits and preparation, than would have been derived from any other preparative education." (p. 112.)

Note 111(2): "Digest," (p. 117).

"the basis of all amendment and reformation is the poor, should be laid in religion and in Christian knowledge....." (p. 117).

Note 113(1): "Digest" (p. 205) notes the evil effects of under-cutting but says, "This is an evil more or less incidental to every plan for employing the poor," and (p. 120) says: "The school not only removes the great difficulty in the support of the schools of industry, but of obtaining regular employment for the children, but affords a cheap supply of clothing for the neighborhood."



"We take the children into the school at eight years of age and put them apprentices at fourteen and give forty shillings apprentice fee each. The method observed with the children in the school is as follows: viz., one half of the day the boys are employed in picking oakum by which they earn £50 a year; the girls are employed in spinning cotton and earn about £20 per annum;..... the other half of their time is applied to their instruction in reading, writing and common arithmetic." This was about 1750.

Note 111(1): "Digest," p.96.

".....the only effectual and unfailing remedy for the moral evils of civil society, - is a general system of religious and virtuous education."

and, "The great object of this institution is eventually to place these children in society, with the advantage of better habits and propensities, than would have been derived without some such preparative education." (p.212.)

Note 111(2): "Digest," (p.117).

"the basis of all amendment and reformation in the poor, should be laid in religion and in Christian knowledge....."(p.117).

Note 113(1): "Digest" (p.205) notes the evil effects of under-cutting but says, "This is an evil more or less incidental to every plan for employing the poor," and (p.199) adds: "It, (the School) not only removes the great difficulty in the support of schools of industry, that of obtaining regular employment for the children, but affords a cheap supply of clothing for the neighbourhood."



endeavours of the benevolent, for his children's welfare; but there are others, so insensible to all idea of gratitude, that they spurn the offered benefit..... they would sooner send them to a pack thread ground or other nursery for vice... for the sake of trifling present gain, than to school where their morals might be formed aright, and they trained to future usefulness to themselves, and to the community."

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Note 115(2): Lancaster: "Improvements in Education"(1806) p.129.

"They would be only employed 36 weeks out of the 52. This would leave them time for hay-making, weeding, stone-gathering, dibbling and gleaning. They should likewise be limited to no more than one score per week, which would only engage them between three and four hours each day; and with attention and proper instruction, this is likely to be of more value than double the quantity with hurry and inattention; and will allow plenty of time for knitting, needle-work and instruction in reading.

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Note II4(2) : Trimmer - Op.cit.,p.70: 'These schools ... might be set on foot by voluntary benefactions ; and in a short time would support themselves and yield a surplus ; and would require no further aid than inspection (.

Note II2(3) : Trimmer - Op.cit.p.84 : remarks on Hanway's plan to combine in a school of industry agriculture, the arts of war, and navigation : her own idea of an evening school in navigation .



his educational work: at an age when children should be receiving education, he said, too many of them were working long hours in an unhealthy factory atmosphere, and even if some opportunity of education presented itself after their day in the factory the children were utterly incapable of profiting by it. It was partly owing to the dire necessity to improve factory conditions for children that educational legislation was ultimately introduced.

In the movement for factory-regulation, Owen was far in advance of the educational opinion of his time.

Probably here come most prominently to his attention the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society and particularly to Dr. Percival, and to the Education in 1786, after a series of epidemics and when an Act of 1784 authorizing Sanctions of the State to fine masters convicted of ill-treating apprentices seems obviously a dead letter, of the Board of Health. The resolution

## CHAPTER VIII.

### OWEN AND FACTORY LEGISLATION.

In the Report of the Education Committee to the House of Commons in 1802, the State of the Children employed in Manufactures, 1802, 1803, 1804, generally called "Owen's Committee," said:

"Resolutions for the improvement of the Manchester Board of Health, by Dr. Percival, January 1804, 1805."

"It has already been stated that the objects of the present institution are to prevent the generation of children; to obviate the spreading of them by contagion, and to diminish the duration of those which exist, by affording the necessary aid and comfort to the sick....."

The Board has inquired into the nature of the contagion and finds that:

1. Children in cotton manufactories are specially liable to receive and likely to spread it.



his educational work: at an age when children should be receiving education, he said, too many of them were working long hours in an unhealthy factory atmosphere, and even if some opportunity of education presented itself after their day in the factory the children were utterly incapable of profiting by it. It was partly owing to the dire necessity to improve factory conditions for children that educational legislation was ultimately introduced.

In the movement for factory-regulation, Owen was far in advance of the educational opinion of his time.

Probably here Owen owed something of his attitude to the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society and particularly to Dr. Percival, and to the formation in 1795, after a series of epidemics and when an Act of 1793 authorising Justices of the Peace to fine masters convicted of ill-using apprentices became obviously a dead letter, of the Manchester Board of Health. Its resolution advising legislation to regulate conditions of work is reprinted in the Report of the Parliamentary "Committee to Enquire into the State of the Children employed in Manufactories," (H.C. 1816, III), generally called "Peel's Committee," thus:

"Resolutions for the consideration of the Manchester Board of Health, by Dr. Percival, January 25th, 1796:"

"It has already been stated that the objects of the present institution are to prevent the generation of diseases; to obviate the spreading of them by contagion, and to shorten the duration of those which exist, by affording the necessary aids and comforts to the sick....."

The Board has inquired into the cotton factories of Manchester and finds that:

1. Children in cotton factories are specially liable to fever and likely to spread it.



impure air, and from the want of the active exercises which nature points out as essential in childhood and youth,...."

3. "The untimely labour of the night and the protracted labour of the day.... tends to diminish future expectations as to the general sum of life,.... and.... too often gives encouragement to idleness, extravagance and profligacy in the parents who.... subsist by the oppression of their offspring." \*

On the appalling conditions of children in factories of the time there is no lack of evidence: it was indeed a regular battleground for publicists, etc.: \*\*

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\* Note 118(1): Cf. Hutchins & Harrison - "History of Factory Legislation," p.9.

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\*\* Note 118(2): Cf. Hutchins & Harrison - "History of Factory Legislation," quoted in Appendix, for a full bibliography.

F.M. Eden - "State of the Poor" (London 1797).

E. Baines - "History of Cotton Manufacture." (1836).

W. Felkin - "History of Machine-wrought Hosiery & Lace" (1867).

S. Trimmer - "Deconomy of Charity" (1792).

Report of Committee on Parish Apprentices - 19th May, 1815.  
(House of Commons, 1814-15, Vol.V.)

Report of Committee appointed to Enquire into the State of the Children employed in Manufactories ("Peel's Committee" House of Commons, 1816, Vol.III.)

1818 Minutes of Evidence taken before the Lords' Committee to whom was referred the Bill for the Preservation of Health & Morals of Apprentices and others employed in the Cotton Mills & Factories House of Lords 1818, Vol.IX.

1819 Minutes of Evidence taken before the Lord's Committee appointed to inquire into the State & Condition of Children employed in Cotton Factories - (House of Lords 1819, Vol.XVI.)

1831 Report of Select Committee on Factory Children's Labour (Sadler's Committee) (House of Commons 1831-2 Vol.XIII.)

1833 First Report of Commissioners on Employment of Children in Factories - House of Commons, 1833, Vol.XX. 2nd Report House of Commons, 1833, Vol.XXI.

1834 Supplementary Report of Commissioners on Employment of Children in Factories - House of Commons 1834 Vol.XIX & XX.

Dr.Percival - "Resolutions in Favour of Legislative Protection of Children employed in Factories" - Drawn up by Dr.Percival for the Manchester Board of Health, 1796 (reprinted in Report of Peel's Committee, 1816.)

Wm.Sabatier - "Treatise on Poverty" (London 1797)

R. Owen - "Observations on Manufacturing System" (London 1815)

John Brown - "Memoir of Robert Blincoe" (pubd.in "The Lion," ed.by R.Carlile, 1828.)

J.P. Kay - "The Moral & Physical Condition of the Working Classes employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester" (London, 1832.)



E. Baines - "History of Cotton Manufacture" (London, 1836)  
J. Fielden - "Curse of Factory System." (London, 1836).  
M.T. Sadler - "Factory Statistics" Letters on the Report of  
1832 (London, 1836).  
Quarterly Review, December 1840 - "Infant Labour."

These all testify to the conditions which Owen had in view in his persistent efforts to obtain redress. Thus Eden's "State of the Poor" (1797) gives instances of overcrowding in Manchester and Liverpool workhouses with fever raging in many, and shows the peculiarly evil effects of young and old mixing in them.\*

Again Wm. Sabatier's "Treatise on Poverty" (1797) notes the ill effects of not educating children in factories when they would be discharged at fourteen years of age and sent to look for other employment:

"As this discharge is about the age of fourteen, provided in the interim they were taught to read and write, which with their cloaths and food is the least which can be required of their employers, every encouragement should be given to this new method of promoting our manufactures.

It is one of these plans which, if well regulated, would form the chief happiness of the poor; but, if neglected, and left solely to the discretion of interested individuals, avarice...will look with callous indifference to every present and future misery of others."

and it adds as necessities:-

- (1) "The wholesomeness of the buildings in which they work and sleep."
- (2) "Their cloathing, food and cleanliness."
- (3) "Hours of relaxation and sleep."
- (4) "Medical assistance."
- (5) "Teaching reading, writing and arithmetic."

"Unless these things are attended to, such manufactures

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\* Note 119(1): Cf. Peel's Committee 1816. Evidence by Owen, p.2'



...is no evidence of Owen having played any active part in framing the 1802 Factory Act (42 Geo.III.c.73), the Health and Morals of Apprentices Act. On the other hand, as an employer, philanthropist and educationist, Owen would certainly be profoundly interested in it. The Act was really an extension of the old Elizabethan Laws (43 Eliz.c.2 and 39 Eliz.c.3) for the Relief of the Poor. The latter was for setting "to work the children of all such whose parents shall not be thought able to keep and maintain their children; and also for setting to work all such persons married or unmarried, as have no means to maintain them, or use no ordinary or daily trade of life to get their living by; and also to raise, weekly or otherwise, a convenient stock of flax, hemp, wool, thread, iron and other necessary ware and stuff to set the poor on work, and also competent sums of money for and towards the necessary relief of the lame, impotent, old, blind, and also for putting out of such children to be apprentices."\*

As a result many houses of industry in spinning and weaving had been opened. Cf. T. Wood - "Account of Shrewsbury House of Industry" (1795), and R. Potter "Observations on the Poor Laws," 1775) :- "The children are at school from three to five years old; from that age, during their stay in the house, they are at the allotted hours in the workroom; these are busy scenes of cheerful industry, whilst content smiles on every little countenance... it gives one pleasure to observe that there is scarcely a child more than eleven in any of the houses; the directors and guardians making it a point to provide them with services as soon as the abilities of the child permit; the neighbouring farmers willingly accept them."

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\* Note 120(1): Cf. B. Kirkman Gray - "History of English Philanthropy" (1905) pp.33-34.



largely spring from successive discoveries that social distress is much more complicated than had been supposed, and that it is necessary to adopt many different plans for the relief of different wants arising from various causes." (B. Kirkman-Gray" - History of English Philanthropy," p.34.).

The normal rate of industrial change had been vastly accelerated by the mechanical inventions which ushered in the Industrial Revolution. Thus Owen - "Observations on Effect of Manufacturing System," 1815, pp.120-121, says:- "The immediate effects of this manufacturing phenomenon were a rapid increase of wealth, industry, population, and political influence of the British Empire.... These important results.. have not been obtained without accompanying evils of such a magnitude as to raise a doubt whether the latter do not preponderate over the former. Hitherto, legislators have appeared to regard manufactures only in one point of view, as a source of national wealth. The other mighty consequences which proceed from extended manufactures when left to their natural progress have never yet engaged the attention of any legislature. The general diffusion of manufactures throughout a country generates a new character in its inhabitants; and as this character is formed upon a principle quite unfavourable to individual or general happiness, it will produce the most lamentable results, unless the tendency be counteracted by legislative interference and direction."

He contrasts the new conditions of his time with the domestic system of the near past:- "Not more than thirty years ago, the poorest parents thought the age of fourteen sufficiently early for their children to commence regular labour; twelve hours per day,

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\* Note 121(1): Cf. M. Hale - "Discourse touching Provision for the Poor" (1683), quoted by Hutchins and Harrison - "History of Factory Legislation" (1903) p.4. Quoted in Appendix.



example of some landed proprietor..... their services were willingly performed; and mutual good offices bound the parties by the strongest ties..... In the manufacturing districts (of the present day) it is common for parents to send their children of both sexes at seven or eight years of age, in winter as well as summer, at six o'clock in the morning, sometimes of course in the dark.... to enter the manufactories, which are often heated to a high temperature, and contain an atmosphere far from being the most favourable to human life, and in which all those employed in them very frequently remain until twelve o'clock at noon, when an hour is allowed for dinner, after which they return to remain... till eight o'clock at night."

(Op. cit. p.123.)

We may note in passing that it was not at all certain that children's hours of work in the factories were in fact longer than under the domestic system. W. Cooke Taylor's "Notes of a Tour in the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire," (London 1842), mentions that some old weavers thought the domestic system had been harsher on children:- "The creatures were set to work as soon as they could crawl, and their parents were the hardest task masters." And summing up, Hutchins and Harrison say:- "But no materials exist for anything like a statistical or accurate study of child labour in the eighteenth century; we have to be content with literary and more or less biassed information." ("History of Factory Legislation," p.5.)

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\* Note 122(1): Quoted Hutchins and Harrison - "History of Factory Legislation." p.5.



3. Each apprentice to receive a suit each year.
4. Each apprentice to be instructed in the three R's.
5. Factories to be whitewashed twice per year and properly ventilated at all times.
6. Not more than two apprentices to sleep in the same bed.\*
7. Separate sleeping accommodation for the two sexes.
8. Apprentices to attend church each month.
9. Justices of peace to appoint two inspectors, one of them a Justice, the other a Clergyman, to visit factories.
10. All mills and factories to be registered annually with the Clerk of the Peace.

The Bill was passed without much opposition: it was obviously the duty of the government, after bringing up pauper children, and setting them to employment, to see that the conditions of that employment were suitable.

The Act applied to all cotton and woollen factories employing twenty or more persons; but the restriction of hours and the imposition of education applied only to apprentices.

In any case it was rendered ineffective owing to the negligence  
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of the Justices, though occasionally a Justice did his best and owing to the employment of "free" children, not apprentices. Conditions were changing: with the introduction of the steam-engine

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\* Note 123(1): E.g. Romilly - "Diary" Vol. II. 374 cites cases of apprentices murdered by their masters in order to obtain other premiums; and "Lancashire Gazetteer" (July 4th, 1801), quoted by Hutchins & Harrison, p. 14. describes the case of 16 apprentices sharing 2 beds, etc.

\*\* Note 123(2): Cf. 1816 Select Committee on Manufactories, etc. p. 115.  
Q. "Was your mill under the inspection of the magistrates?"  
A. "I do know that we never had a magistrate to view it; I do not recollect any magistrate coming to view it, except as a matter of curiosity...."



less harsh than had been the domestic weavers, etc., who still continued and to whom apprentice-children were now sent in larger numbers, the Act not being applicable to domestic employers. \*\*

In the years that followed the legislative fiasco of 1802, Owen seems to have been too much engrossed in his work at New Lanark to be able to agitate for further reform of factories, but no doubt his awareness of the hardships of factory conditions was gradually strengthened. At first his attitude may have been that of making the best of things at his own factory: later nothing less than a general improvement of factory conditions was to satisfy him, and more and more of his energies, following the year 1812, were devoted to this cause.

His efforts followed two lines: the first was the publicising of his experiment at New Lanark, where he had shown that, given a sound environment and assuming that man's character is formed for him by it, the poor could be made industrious, prosperous, good and happy. This was issued in the publication of his "New View of Society." The second was an active effort to secure immediate factory reform. This issued ultimately in the 1819 Factory Act, though the latter in its final shape fell far short of Owen's wishes.

Of the lamentable conditions of factory children Owen was peculiarly sensible, and after maturing his views he spoke in 1815 at a meeting of cotton-manufacturers in Glasgow to petition the Government to reduce cotton duties and to improve conditions of working in textile factories. To his disappointment the first

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\* Note 124(1): Cf. Owen - "Observations on Effect of Manufacturing System" (p.124); Peel's Comm. Report p.479, Hansard XXXVII. 559.

\*\*Note 124(2): Cf. Jas. Macintosh - "Diary" April 27, 1818: employers are "ogres"; and Peel's Committee Report p.442, p.493.



children and others employed in the growing manufactures of the Kingdom, if I could induce the members of both Houses to pass a Bill for the purpose." ("Life" 1p, 115ff. ).

\* Holyoake quotes Owen in the "British Co-operator" p.154, on the part he played in urging legislation:-

"I have attempted two decisive measures for the general improvement of the population. The one was a good and liberal education for all the poor, without exception on account of their religious or political principles; to be conducted under a board of sixteen commissioners to be chosen by Parliament, eight to be of the Church of England, and the remainder from the other sects in proportion to their numbers, the education to be useful and liberal. The measure was supported and greatly desired by the members of Lord Liverpool's administration; and considerable progress was made in the preliminary measures previous to its being brought into Parliament. It was opposed, however, and after some deliberation, stopped in its progress by Dr. Randolph, Bishop of London, and by Mr. Whitbread. <sup>\*\*</sup> But the Archbishop of Canterbury and several other dignitaries of the Church, were favourable to it. The declared opposition, however, of the Bishop of London and of Mr. Whitbread induced Lord Liverpool and his friends, who, I believe, sincerely wished to give the people a useful and liberal education - to defer the subject to a more favourable opportunity.

The next measure was to promote the amelioration of the condition of the productive classes by the adoption of superior arrangements to instruct and employ them. I had several interviews

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\* Note 125(1): Holyoake - "History of Co-operation" p.57.

\*\* But see 'Memoirs of Public Life and Administration of Earl of Liverpool, 1827, p.291ff., for Whitbread's peroration on the Bill.



more detailed measures to Lord Sidmouth, The Secretary of State for the Home Department, and I had many interviews and communications with him upon these subjects.

I became satisfied that if they had possessed sufficient power over public opinion they would have adopted measures to prevent the population from experiencing poverty and misery; but they were opposed by the then powerful party of the political economists.

The principles which I have long advocated were submitted for their consideration, and at their request they were first printed but not published..... In one of my last interviews with Lord Sidmouth, he said, 'Mr. Owen, I am authorised by the Government to state to you that we admit the principles you advocate to be true, and that if they were fairly applied to practice, they would be most beneficial; but we find the public do not yet understand them, and they are therefore not prepared to act upon them. When public opinion shall be sufficiently enlightened to comprehend and to act upon them, we shall be ready and willing to acknowledge their truth and to act in conformity with them. We know we are acting upon erroneous principles; but we are compelled to do so from the force of public opinion, which is so strongly in favour of old established political institutions.' To a statement so candid I could only reply, 'Then it becomes my duty to endeavour to enlighten the people and to create a new public opinion.' "

That indeed was Owen's great contribution - the creation of a new enlightened public opinion which would be prepared for sweeping reforms.

Owen's proposals at this time were:-

(1) "To limit the regular hours of labour <sup>of children</sup> in mills of machinery to twelve per day, including one hour and a half for meals."

I quoted in 'Life' pp. 323, with 'Observations of Opponents'.



years old."

(3) "That children of either sex shall not be admitted into any manufactory, until they can read and write in an useful manner, understand the first four rules of arithmetic, and the girls be likewise competent to sew their common garments of clothing." \*

When in June 1815, Peel did finally bring in a Bill,<sup>†</sup> he recommended that no children should be employed under the age of ten years; that their hours should be limited to 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ , including the time for meals and education, and that proper inspectors be appointed and paid. Meantime he suggested that the Bill be printed and published abroad.

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In a criticism of the scheme Horner said that the Bill did not go far enough: it was inhumane to apprentice parish children in distant factories: he had known of a number of such children sold with a bankrupt's effects and transferred as part of the property.

Another Member, Philips, said the number of children was now greatly reduced: in one factory with 957 employees, only 33 were under the age of ten.

The Bill was finally read the first time, Peel explaining that they did not intend to press the Bill that year.

During the summer Owen with his son went round a large number of mills in England examining conditions and collecting evidence.

Meantime an opposition in Parliament was steadily developing, and was ready to throw its full weight against the Bill when on 3rd April, 1816, Peel moved that a committee be formed to consider the state of children employed in factories, (Hansard XXXIII - 884)

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\* Note 127(1): "Observation on Manufacturing System," pp.124-5.

\*\*Note 127(2): Hansard XXXI - 624.

<sup>†</sup> Quoted in 'Life' pp.23-26, with 'Observations of Opponents'.



the Bill would be to see that they obtained some education; these helpless children must be protected.<sup>†</sup>

Finlay, M.P. for Glasgow, protested that this inhumane treatment did not apply to Scotland, where generally children were not employed under ten years of age; the cotton mills of Glasgow were "not only situated most advantageously for health, but were conducted upon the most liberal plan."

Another M.P. said it was wrong to regulate the authority of parents "who must best be aware of the quantity of work these children were able to bear;" factory conditions had been much ameliorated in late years, and "the air of all of them had been so much improved that labour was not half so distressing as it had been."

Another pointed out that since some manufacturers had agreed to take one idiot for every nineteen other parish children, an enquiry seemed called for. The committee was finally appointed, and its Report contains an immense amount of evidence of great value.\* Owen's arguments had been well mustered (Report pp.36-40.) Some of the questions and his answers to them raise points of general interest and show Owen's own attitude clearly:

"....I have uniformly found that where children were not employed at an early age by families, those families were generally in a more comfortable and respectable situation in life, than those families where the children have been employed at an early period." (p.37).

Q. "Then is the state of the works of the cotton manufactories in England such as to make it any difficulty for them to obtain children at this moment?"

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\* Note 128(1): For some of the major points raised, apart from Owen's evidence, see Appendix.

<sup>†</sup> Cf. 'Life' Iap.300ff. on 'Observations of Opponents', and section relevant to present-day Junior Colleges, quoted in App.p.iii.



children were prevented from working till they were ten years of age, there would be a sufficient number for the demand, and not more."

Q. "Are there any children employed under seven years old?"

A. "Yes." (p.37.)

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Q. "Supposing the children to be prevented under ten years of age, from working, what security do you suppose there is that their parents would send them to school?"

A. "The security is one which I took the liberty of suggesting, and if I may be permitted, I will read it: That the children of either sex shall not be admitted into any manufactory, after a time to be named, until they can read and write in a useful manner, understand the first four rules of arithmetic; and the girls be likewise competent to sew their common garments and clothes."

Q. "If it is to be attended with expense, do you conceive the state of the manufacturers is such as to hope they would be disposed to send their children to school?"

A. "I cannot tell what they would be disposed to do; but I can speak from fact, that working these limited hours the establishment at Lanark is competent to educate those children from the age of three to ten, without any loss to the proprietors, and affording them a reasonable and fair profit." .... "I have a firm conviction upon my mind, that those articles will be produced as cheap, under the limited time and age, as they now are without limitation." (p.38.)

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Q. "Do you know of any statement by which it is understood that idiots are sent from the overseers in London to be employed in the manufactories?"



hours to 19½ hours, the evening school attendance rose from about 100 per night to about 350 per night. (p.40.).

List of attendances at New Lanark is given (p.66):

	Age.	Day.	Evening.	Total.
<u>Boys.</u>	3 - 6 years.	41		145
	6 - 10 "	104		
	10 - 15 "		124	174
	15 - 20 "		49	
	20 - 25 "		1	
<u>Girls.</u>	3 - 6 years	39		129
	6 - 10 "	90		
	10 - 15 "		220	311
	15 - 20 "		52	
	20 - 25 "		39	
		274	485	759

Many of the questions betray the bias of the Committee:-

Q. "Then the actual state of deaths and burials is no criterion of the health of the inhabitants?"

A. "No; because the manufacturing population, in many districts, is perpetually removing; when they find their health affected by any manufactory, they go elsewhere." (p.87.)

And again, after Owen gave evidence of children of three and four years of age being employed in Stockport factories:-

Q. "Do you really believe that a child of three years could be employed in any branch of the spinning business?"

† Cf. Report, p.120.



people cannot creep...." (p.88.).

There was proof, said Owen (p.89) of children in the wool and flax trade working for sixteen hours per day, and he pointed out the real economy of limiting hours of work, (pp.93-94) :- "I do not now hesitate to say that, although no bill should be passed, although no restrictions should take place with regard to hours, or the limitations of the children being admitted into the works, in a pecuniary view only, I would not again alter the hours of the New Lanark establishment...." (p.90) Again:- "... there has been a very sensible difference in the general health and spirits of the whole mass of the population so employed, so much so that they feel strong the change which has taken place; and I understand they have sent a petition to the House of Commons, praying that their fellow-labourers of a similar description may receive the same benefits."

Of the attitude of parents in Manchester he says (p.23):  
"...there were such strong inducements held out to the parents to send their children early to work, that it counterbalanced any inclination such people had to send them to school..."

Where such industrial inducements were absent, as in Newcastle, the situation was different, (p.24):-

"I found that upon the average the children (of Manchester) stayed upon his charge about four months; in the school at Newcastle I found the children remained there upon the average for four years; the sole reason of which was that the parents of the children in Manchester were tempted to send their children to the works at an early age (for there is no limitation by law), and on the contrary there was no inducement at Newcastle for the employment of children under 12, 13 and 14....."



A. "At ten and upwards."

Q. "How then would you employ them from ten to the age of twelve?"  
(p.21.)

A. "For the two years preceding, to be partially instructed; to be instructed one half the day, and the other half to be initiated into the manufactories by parties employing two sets of children...."

Q. "What time (for employing children) would you recommend?"

A. "About ten hours of actual employment, or, at the most, ten hours and a half."

Again:-

Q. "Do you conceive that it is not injurious to the manufacturer to hazard, by over-work, the health of the people he employs?"

A. "If those persons were purchased by the manufacturer, I should say decisively yes; but as they are not purchased by the manufacturer, and the country must bear all the loss of their strength and their energy, it does not appear at first sight, to be the interest of the manufacturer to do so." (p.28.)

Q. "Would not there be a danger of their (children under 10 years) acquiring, by that time (10 years of age) vicious habits, for want of regular occupation?"

A. "My own experience leads me to say that I have found quite the reverse, that their habits have been good in proportion to the extent of their instruction." (p.23.) \*

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\* Note 132(1): Cf. evidence of another witness (p.125):-

Q. "Then you admit that the employment of children in manufactories is productive of crime?"

A. "Certainly; they have not the opportunity of committing overt acts as those have who are about the streets.... they appeared as complete prisoners as they would be in gaol."



After long useless discussion, kept up to prolong time, this was at length over-ruled. The next attempt was to prove that it was not injurious to employ these young children fourteen and fifteen hours a day in over-heated close rooms, filled often with the fine flying fibre of the material used, particularly in cotton and flax spinning mills. Sir. Robert Peel most unwisely consented to a committee being appointed to investigate this question, and this committee was continued for two sessions of Parliament, before these wise and honest men, legislating for the nation, could decide that such practices were detrimental to the health of these infants."

select vestries, parochial benefit societies ("Life" Ep. 17. )

The opposition party indeed used every method to discredit Owen: he was accused of seditious expressions, but Lord Sidmouth was too much of a realist to be misled by that. A more hopeful line seemed to be to open up the question of Owen's religious principles and those on which he based the education of the children. Witnesses were ready to prove that his accounts of long hours and bad factory conditions were untrue. Medical witnesses could be found to testify that the children in the factories were sound in health and were not injured by long hours and night work: shorter hours might make for immorality among the poor.

In February, 1817, Curwen, a friend of Owen, sympathetic to his theories, asked in the House of Commons for the appointment of a Committee on the Poor Laws: to avoid a crisis resulting from the failure of voluntary contributions, the laws should be amended: in 1776, the poor rates were £1½ millions, in 1817 they were £8½ millions; if allowed to go on, the system would end all respectability among the poor. A committee was finally appointed with Sturges Bourne as Chairman (Hansard XXXV.- 506.).

Owen himself sent in his Report to this Committee and asked to



population was to be grouped into villages of which and co-operation each of which was to have complete industrial, agricultural and educational resources.

The Report of Bourne's Committee was published on 4th July, 1817, while the existing poor laws and the system of administering them continued, said the Report, the yearly sum expended on the poor, about £5. per head in 1815, would increase; it recommended the rating of owners instead of tenants in large towns; approved of industrial schools; gave some praise to the workhouses; and recommended the establishment of parochial farms, paid overseers and select vestries, parochial benefit societies and savings banks.\*

Finally on 19th February, 1818, Peel brought in an Act<sup>†</sup> for the Regulation of Cotton Mills and Factories: "it was notorious that children of a very tender age were dragged from their beds some hours before daylight and confined in factories not less than 15 hours..." (Hansard XXXVII - 360.).

Peel's son, in support, said that in at least one factory children were employed fifteen hours a day, and after any stoppage, from 5 a.m. till 10 p.m. On Sundays they cleaned machinery from 6 a.m. till 12 noon: many children were employed at the age of five: "was it necessary to have the evidence of medical men to prove that, to employ a child of seven years of age, was unfavourable to health?"

On the second reading,<sup>††</sup> Peel explained that the principle of the Bill was the same as in that introduced in 1815 but withdrawn because of the lack of evidence before the House; in 1816 a Committee on this subject had sat and only Peel's indisposition had postponed the

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\* Note 134(1): "Annual Register" 263.

Cf. Nicholls - "History of the Poor Law" II-190 on the trifling effect of the Report.

<sup>†</sup> Act quoted in 'Life', Ia, pp. 31-32

<sup>††</sup> Cf. 'Life', Ia, pp. 185-193, for Owen's letter to Lord Liverpool.



years of age; that they should work twelve and a half hours, including one and a half hours for meals; there should be no night work in factories.

Opposition was based on these propositions:-

- (1) That the factory children were sound in health.
- (2) That the better mills were well ventilated, etc. the smaller factories, less healthy, "generally went to ruin."
- (3) That night work could not be carried on to advantage.
- (4) That longer hours by younger children were worked in linen and woollen factories and in weaving.
- (5) That the cotton industry, producing £40 million per year, should not be interfered with in any way to make competition with the Continental cotton factories more unfavourable.
- (6) That the parents were the natural protectors of children and the liberty of parents should not be impugned.
- (7) That there should be no interference with "free labour."
- (8) That if higher wages were granted, still further increases would be demanded.
- (9) That the petitions in favour of the Bill were signed by "idle, discontented, discarded, and good-for-nothing workmen."
- (10) That the Bill would throw all children under sixteen first upon their parents for support, then upon the parish: the Bill, said Lord Lascelles (Hansard XXXVIII-370) really came from "a gentleman who had, for the past twelve months, made much noise in the public prints, he meant Mr. Owen.... It formed a part of that system of moral education which was projected by that individual in the management of his branch of trade, who said that, from his own experience at Lanark, the reduction of the hours of labour, so far from diminishing the general produce of the factories, rather intended to increase it." : this was incomprehensible.



too much leisure.

(13) That if hours were reduced, Britain would lose her foreign markets.

The Bill finally passed through the Lords as 59 Geo.III.c.66, on 14th June, 1819, with these main clauses:-

- (1) No child under nine years of age to be employed.
- (2) No person under sixteen years of age to be employed more than twelve hours per day, (excluding meal-times.)
- (3) Justices of Peace to act as inspectors.
- (4) The Act to apply only to cotton mills.
- (5) A copy of the Act to be hung up in each factory.\* \*

Thus almost every clause which Owen had spent years in trying to place on the statute book, was omitted. Small wonder that after this bitter experience, Owen looked elsewhere than to Parliament to bring about the social reforms which meant so much to him.

We may say then, that Owen passed through a phase in which the salvation of the children doomed to work in factories seemed attainable most readily by Parliamentary legislation, but that, having encountered the obstacles in the way of such reform, he tended later to aim at more general legislation for the all-round improvement of society - legislation which would, however, come as a result not of direct influencing of Parliament but as a result of a general shaping (by reasoned propaganda) of public opinion, which would react upon

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\*Note 136(1): Cf. Pamphlet: "An Enquiry into the Principle and Tendency of the Bill for imposing certain restrictions on Cotton Factories" (London, 1818) Quoted in Appendix.

\*\* Note 136(2): For the after-history of the Act, see note in Appendix. and cf. Hill - Op.cit., p.129: 'Out of 2000 millowners only 6 have made any change in consequence of the Factory Act for enforcing education'.



come to be regarded <sup>^</sup> the inherent rights of childhood to happiness,  
security and an environment which will allow it full opportunity of  
growth.

CHAPTER VIII.

APPENDIX I. INDEX.







"Poor Families, which daily multiply in the Kingdom for want of a due order for their Employment in an honest course of life,... do unavoidably bring up their children either in a Trade of Begging or Stealing, or such other Idle course, which again they propagate to their children, and so there is a successive multiplication of hurtful or at least unprofitable people, neither capable of Discipline nor beneficial Employment."

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Note 128(1): Report of Select Committee on State of Children in Manufactories..." 1816:

Some points raised by witnesses: dampness and ill-ventilation of hand-weavers' cottages (p.202); children not allowed to sit during working hours (p.118); night work suspended in cotton factory not for sake of children but because of scarcity of water (p.115); "the greater part" of the children attend Sunday Schools (p.118); restricting hours would be "a bounty" to foreign competitors (p.119); "closeness" of atmosphere experienced by magistrate in factory, the windows being closed to prevent fine "flew" being scattered (p.121); short stature, "hectic appearance" moisture<sup>on</sup> faces of children in factories (p.121.) children not allowed to go out for breakfast (p.121); space for playground, but never used (p.121); magistrate unwilling to sign any indenture for a cotton mill (p.122) in cotton mills apprentices "learned a trade they never could follow when out of their time"(p.123); ill-repute of Peel's own mills (p.124); if parents did not profit by their children's work, they would "work harder, and probably obtain better wages for better work." (p.123.)

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"All experience proves that in the lower orders the deterioration of morals increases with the quantity of unemployed time of which they have the command. Thus the Bill actually encourages vice - it establishes idleness by Act of Parliament; it creates and encourages those practices which it pretends to discourage." This is a significant confusion of unemployed time and leisure.

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Note 136(2): The 1819 Act was further weakened by an amending Act (60 Geo.III. c.5.) by which time lost through failure of the water supply or accident might be made up by working overtime or at night.

Then in 1825 Sir John Hobhouse had a Bill passed (6 Geo.IV.c.63) with these provisions:

1. No child under 16 years was to work more than 12 hours per day (i.e.  $13\frac{1}{2}$  hours, if  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours were allowed for meals.)
2. Dinner hour was to be between 11 a.m. and 3 p.m.
3. On Saturdays only nine hours' work was to be allowed between 5 a.m. and 4.30 p.m.
4. Employers could without legal responsibility employ children under the legal age if the parents or guardians declared them to have attained that age.

Cf. 1825 Pamphlet called "Hours of Labour, Mealtimes, etc. in Manchester and its Neighbourhood," (London, 1825) which showed that by that time the usual working day in Manchester was 14 hours including meal times.

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whatsoever they might be , or of the Established Church ? Are  
factories to be used as Churches or Conventicles ? ”



other psychological working is consistent. This work, the "New Moral World" he says, has far less aim than that "to rid men of a universal error concerning the nature of man." It is necessary to explain the nature of man before we can attain to the object of Owen's wider system in which "the inhabitants will attain a state of existence in which a spirit of charity and affection will pervade the whole human race." Man will become a happy and happy subject a race of superior beings." (Introduction to Owen's system)

## CHAPTER IX.

### OWEN'S PSYCHOLOGY.

"But the great task of the philosopher, that of theorizing the whole, is yet to be performed..... It is: to observe exactly the facts; to make a perfect collection of them, nothing omitted that is of any importance, nothing included of none; and to record them in that order and form, in which all that is best to be done in practice, (that is in what manner the sequences established in nature may be turned most effectually to the production of a certain end), can be most immediately and certainly perceived."

Jas. Mill - 1818 Encyclopædia  
Britannica (p.27).

1st. That his feelings or his convictions, or both of them united, create the motive to action called the will, which stimulates him to act, and directs his actions.

2nd. That the organization of no two human beings is ever precisely similar at birth.

3rd. That, nevertheless, the constitution of every infant, except in case of organic disease, is capable of being formed into a very inferior or a very superior being, according to the qualities of the external circumstances allowed to influence that constitution from birth.



other psychological reasoning is consistent. This work, the "New Moral World", he says, has for its aim nothing less than "to rid men of a universal error concerning the nature of man." It is necessary to explain the nature of man before we can attain to the object of Owen's wider system in which "the inhabitants will attain a state of existence in which a spirit of charity and affection will pervade the whole human race," "man will become spiritualized and happy amidst a race of superior beings." (Introduction XXII.)

To form the character of children rightly - the be-all and end-all of Owen's educational system - it is necessary, he says, to accept five fundamental propositions.

" 1st. That Man is a compound being whose character is formed of his constitution or organization at birth, and of the effects of external circumstances upon it from birth to death; such original organization and external influences continually acting and reacting each upon the other.

2nd. That man is compelled by his original constitution to receive his feelings and his convictions independently of his will.

3rd. That his feelings or his convictions, or both of them united, create the motive to action called the will, which stimulates him to act, and decides his actions.

4th. That the organization of no two human beings is ever precisely similar at birth.

5th. That, nevertheless, the constitution of every infant, except in case of organic disease, is capable of being formed into a very inferior or a very superior being, according to the qualities of the external circumstances allowed to influence that constitution from birth. "



influences:

1. The influence of his constitution at birth.
2. The influence of his external circumstances.

But there seems little doubt in his mind at other times as to the paramount importance of the second: e.g. in "New View of Society" (1st Essay)(p.16), which, however, applies to the community at large, not to the individual.

The subject is important enough to require separate treatment (See Chapter 10), though at times it may intrude in this section.

Of the five propositions above, the second gives only a hint at the difficulties which Owen's psychology entails: in particular the place of the will is obscure: man "receives his feelings and convictions independently of his will." At first sight this seems utterly confused. In the third proposition he accepts the will as the "motive to action"; in another the feelings and convictions operate without any element of will entering. It is quite different from the generally held notion that in every mental act there is an element of cognition, conation and affection (Cf. McDougall - "Outline" p.265; Ross - "Outline of Psychology" p.33); that most actions begin with some cognitive process which gives rise to some feeling and an impulse or a striving to take some line of action. There is a cyclic chain of reaction, each reaction being cognitive, conative and affective at the same time.

In this sense it is confusing for Owen to talk of feelings and convictions acting independently of will or conation. At any rate Owen sees clearly the need for a clarification of psychological thinking as it affects education, just as



what are the qualities of mind which chiefly  
conduce to happiness?"

"The question," says Mill, "is how the mind with those properties which it possesses, can, through the operation of certain means, be rendered most conducive to a certain end? To answer this question, the whole of its properties must be known... Nor can education assume its most perfect form, till the science of the human mind has reached its highest point of improvement."

(Op.cit. p.12.)

Mill's own answer is his statement of the laws of association: sensation leads to reaction; <sup>it is</sup> if repeated, the same reaction is more likely to follow, and gradually a habit is established. "If we consider that the mental trains are that upon which everything depends, and that the mental trains depend essentially upon those sequences among our sensations which have been so frequently experienced as to create a habit of passing from the idea of the one to that of the other, - we shall perceive immediately the reasons of what we have advanced."

"It seems to be a law of human nature that the first sensations experienced produce the greatest effects; more especially, that the earliest repetitions of one sensation after another produce the deepest habit; the strongest propensity to pass immediately from the idea of the one to the idea of the other."

"It is, then, a fact that the early sequences to which we are accustomed, form the primary habits; and that the primary habits are the fundamental character of the man ..... as soon as the infant, or rather the embryo, begins to feel, the character begins to be formed; and the habits which are then contracted,



period is its utmost vigilance of greater importance than the first."

(Op.cit.p.25.)

Owen's views, unfortunately, are less clear and consistent. If Owen is confused about the functions of will, he was and is not alone. Cf. H.J. Paton in "Nature of Ideas" (University of California Publications in Philosophy,) Vol.8(1926)p.81 :

"We may, however, observe that especially difficult problems are raised by our awareness of willing, a subject which I have never seen treated with anything like adequacy."

Owen seems here to accept the view of psychological hedonists of his time who held that conation comes after affection and is determined by it; i.e. striving is determined by feeling, e.g. in suffering some bodily pain we first feel the pain, then strive to escape from it. Here pain would seem to initiate the striving: but it is perhaps more reasonable to assume that there is a continuous striving in the mind consciously or unconsciously to maintain a condition of equilibrium or steady adaptation to environment. As soon as pain rises to the level of consciousness, the striving is intensified, one's cognitional powers are exerted to the utmost and a reaction is made, the process being repeated time after time till a suitable reaction finally takes place, e.g. escape.

We have a statement of the view that affection or feeling determines mental activity at the opening of Jeremy Bentham's "Principles of Morals and Legislation", and this principle Bentham, Bain, Mill,<sup>\*</sup> and the Utilitarians combined with the principle of the association of ideas, and on these two

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\* Note 141 (1): See Appendix.



position, seems at times to follow a variety of hormic theory such as had been stated by Dugald Stewart in his "Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind." According to this view the prime movers to action are the "implanted propensities" which can be divided into:

- (a) instructive propensities, viz. appetites, desires and affections.
- (b) rational principles of action, viz. self-love and the Moral Faculty.

In this Stewart has been followed by others like Wundt, William James, Freud and the psychoanalysts, G.F. Stout, and William McDougall (Cf. "Outline of Psychology" pp. 267-271) who takes pleasure and pain as equivalent to the satisfaction or dissatisfaction arising respectively from success or failure in conative action, but adds that pleasure "arising in the course of mental activity, supports that activity, sustains our striving in the direction or of the kind, which brings pleasure; it strengthens and prolongs the impulse or conative tendency at work in us. Secondly, on recurrence of a situation of the kind in which we have striven successfully, our tendency to strive again in the same way is stronger; the tendency seems to be confirmed by the previous experience of success, and this confirmation of the tendency may fairly be regarded as a consequence or result of the pleasure experienced on the former occasion. Conversely pain ....."

(Op.cit. p.270).

It is clear, then, even from this preliminary statement of Owen's, that there is confusion on the functions of the will - which is fundamental in any educational system that aims at



In any case, in Owen's view the training of the will is all important: how that is to be effected, he attempts to tell us later.

At the sacrifice of consistency, he could, of course, like Herbart find some via media: "Herbart's contention that our acts of will are determined by our desires, when the latter are capable of realization, is not in conflict with the feeling that each of us possesses a 'self' which is free, with a suitable interpretation of such a phrase."

\*\*  
(Hardie - "Truth and Fallacy"  
p. 45.)

\*\*\*  
Indeed any educational thought, for self-consistency, must take up a determinist view or the opposite about the will in human behaviour. Here it seems true that we do not postulate a separate "faculty" additional to sensation, perception, etc. but need only postulate the self-activity of a perceiving or sensing entity. This is making no special claims for the function of the will: we must avoid hypostatization of any mental unit which we assume, e.g. sensation in itself, or memory in itself, etc. In its special way each represents the activity of the self: in its

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\* Note 143(1): Cf. Stout's definition of volition ("Manual of Psychology" p.711) as "a desire qualified and defined by the judgment that so far as in us lies we shall bring about the attainment of the desired end because we desire it."  
Cf. James - "Principles of Psychology" I.- 26 on will-training: "Be systematically astatic...." etc.

\*\* Note 143(2): Cf. Herbart "Umriss" p.58: "The will takes its root in the circle of thought"... "The will has its origin certainly not in the details of what one knows, but in the union and working together of the ideas which have been won."  
"Man's worth consists not in knowing but in willing". Cf. Adams - "Evol. of Ed. Theory" (p.328). "The will is generated in the conflict of ideas. It is not a force that acts upon and regulates the ideas found in the circle of thought, but is really created by those ideas in their actions and reactions. In other words the will is the resultant of the interaction of ideas. It is simply one mode of their activity."

\*\*\* Note 143(3): On determinism and indeterminism see Rusk - "Doctrines of the Great Educators" pp.213-4.



least by the self as a unity, we may call the activity impulsive: "volitional" may be reserved for the total activity of the self fully controlled by the self, and least by some innate legacy. Even impulse, however, is not purely mechanical: volition, again, tends in the developed character-whole to be less and less tied by innate factors and to become, if we may use the term, "creative" and self-originating.

At its highest stage, volition seems almost unrelated to innately-propelled impulse, just as, at its highest intelligence can hardly be recognised as a development of instinct: in each case there has been continuous emergence.

We ourselves, then, in contrast to Owen consciously accept volition as self-motivating: we do not indeed deny its humble origin, but we maintain its development and, so to speak, self-transcendence. \*\* At its highest volitional activity creates self-motive. For proof we can only point to human activity at its most creative aesthetically or morally when it seems meaningless to talk of behaviour as rigidly impelled by or dependent upon instinct or habit derived from instinct: to impulse we may assign this fixed relation; volition does not arise from innate factors: by this time, activity has ceased to be instinctive and has become intelligent. It is with intelligence that volition is to be related and levelled. While intelligence means the power of recognising principles or uniformities or relations, volition is

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\* Note 144(1): Cf. Paton - "The Good Will" p.115. "The timeless self is a name for that special unity or self-transcendence which is present in all action and in all thought. Instinct and temperament and character are names for what we may call regularities in action."

\*\* Note 144(2): Cf. Paton - "The Good Will" p.121. he suggest that: "Willing - and indeed all spiritual activity - is not immediate but self-mediating and self-transcendent, that it is in short a spiritual activity and not a thing."



probably, the more volitional it is.

No doubt our only proof of this is the sense of ourselves being self-active, as initiators of our behaviour: this sense the mechanist dismisses as an illusion, though he seems ready to accept as non-illusory many experiences which seem less immediate, e.g. data obtained through the sense organs though these data are far removed from the "real" objects which cause them.\*

Some thinkers, indeed, go further than this in stating the relation of volition and intelligence, and the further they travel along this road, the more doubtful does Owen's view of the will become. Thus H.G. Wyatt ("Psychology of Intelligence and Will" ) (1930), on whom our view of volitional activity is based, says (p.200):

....."it (psychology) cannot fail to recognize that the continuous development of the two (intelligence and volition) in harmony is what in the sphere of ethics would be called moral development also. In other words evolution is an ethical and not only a 'natural' process. It is not inevitable nor completely determined. This is the significance of the admission of volition as gradually evolving through the scales of life. To reject this and to explain human behaviour (and indeed all animate behaviour) in terms of instinct and of intelligence serving instinct is incompatible with any but a deterministic view of the universe including life. The issue therefore between determinism and non-determinism depends upon the recognition or non-recognition of the validity of volition in the sense given above."

and: "I will, therefore I am".\*\* (p.200).

\* Note 145(1): Cf. "Nature of Ideas" (Univ. of California Publications in Philosophy, Vol. VII) Paton on "Idea of the Self" p. 83. Quoted in Appendix.

\*\* Note 145(2): Cf. Paton - "The Good Will" (p. 300) "That which was good as the object of a momentary desire developed a richer goodness, as it became also the instrument of a whole policy of life and received a new value from its place in a coherently willed whole."



self active in making a judgment of value possible only to a being which transcends itself, and is intelligent to the point of being self-reflective.\*

For Owen, however, the will has less weight: the important thing is the interaction of the original "powers of his organization with external circumstances. "And it is only now," he says in a typically vague passage (N.M.W. I.- 50), "that the public are beginning to investigate the facts, from a knowledge of which alone man can discover his own nature, and how it can best be conducted, from birth to death, to make each individual a being of superior feelings, intelligence and conduct; also to ascertain what every one has been made to be by the power or powers that formed his organization, and which created and continued the external circumstances which acted upon it, from its birth, to create the reaction from the organization to the surrounding circumstances; and by thus tracing, step by step, the actual formation of man as now demonstrable from facts, we are compelled to come to the conclusion that he is a wonderful and curiously contrived being, a being whose physical, mental and moral feelings are formed for him, through his organization acted upon by external circumstances. The sensations produced by the impressions of the first external circumstances give a new character to the organization; other external circumstances then act upon this altered organization and further change, until it acquires power to react upon the external circumstances. The power, however, thus acquired, is the combined result of the original organization, formed without the knowledge

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\* Note 146(1): Cf. Paton - "The Good Will" (p.130).



thoughts and conduct of every one.... and, therefore, the whole man, physical, mental and moral is formed independently of any original will and choice of the individual." The important words here are: "until it acquires power to react upon the external circumstances;" for whenever the organization acquires this power, it becomes self-activating and exercises a power of will. The moment this happens, it becomes fully responsible for its actions

Thus the point is that Owen indeed postulates certain innate tendencies or powers; he emphasizes the importance of the reaction on these powers of the environment; but he does not recognize fully the growth of an individual entity brought about by this interplay such that it seems to have had some part in directing its own development: there is no idea of the growth of the individual as the growth of a maturing will or a maturing self-in-action: on this view, there is clearly, as he says, no moral responsibility for what one has become: that will have been the result of blind forces played upon by chance; but surely, we point out, there must be responsibility for the action which this organization built up in this pathetically haphazard way, now initiates. It must be assumed that the matured entity or self-in-action has some choice of courses.

We need not expect consistency in Owen's psychological account: unfortunately his inconsistency has<sup>a</sup> a serious affect on his main philosophical position.

The substance of his fifth proposition on the relative weight of heredity and environment will be treated elsewhere.

Meantime we pass to his next main psychological statement - the twenty "fundamental laws of human nature" - a courageous effort to clarify his own and other people's thinking about mind and a typically sincere attempt to reach the truth:



in different proportions in each individual.

3rd. This diversity constitutes the original difference between one individual and another."

We are to think of human nature as consisting of

- (a) animal propensities, e.g. fear, desire for food, sleep, etc.
- (b) intellectual faculties which are like instincts but are constantly enlarging.\* To them is due the power of comparing new ideas with old, and of attaining general principles.

(c) moral feelings - "those sensations which are produced when the individual feels conscious that he has added to or deducted from the sum of happiness in the creation." - happiness being harmony of physical, intellectual and moral feelings and harmony of external circumstances with man's nature. (N.M.W. I.-22.)

While we might accept the first two components, calling them instincts and cognitive powers, the third we now regard as consisting of complex ideational structures developed over a long period and gradually shaped in a child by "sympathetic contagion and by suggestion from admired personalities." (McDougall - "Outline" p.436) and finally incorporated in what we may call the self-sentiment:<sup>in</sup> all its stages of development, however, the important thing is that the self, the sum of all these intellectual and other powers, has exercised a choice as to the direction in which development will take place. This is where Owen parts company with us.

The third law raises acute difficulties in the phrase "original difference" : are these differences moral also? Does the individual start with a hereditary moral ability or disability, which will develop blindly for good or ill, without the self being able to indulge or deny its growth? It is hard to accept this negation of moral responsibility. The question as to the transmission by

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\* Note 148(1): Cf. Drever - "Instinct"<sup>Man</sup> Ch.I.



really amounts to asking: if the will is to mean anything, is there not an implied immanent judgement of value in all significant moral action, for which judgement the self is fully responsible.

One of the most interesting features of this statement of the components of human nature is Owen's departure from the narrow ways of associationism. He adheres certainly to the "faculty" psychology, but joins the "hormic" school of psychologists which has had such fruitful results since Owen's time,\* and besides the tendency of ideas etc. to cohere - what Drever calls the "endopsychic" process - Owen wishes to add this urge of the mature self to react upon its surroundings. Unfortunately he has not gone the whole road and finds it difficult to make the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th laws compatible with a hormic activity of the self. These laws attempt a statement on the interaction between the original inheritance and the environment.

4th. These elements of his nature and their proportions, are made by a power unknown to the individual, and consequently without his consent.

5th. Each individual comes into existence within certain external circumstances which act upon his peculiar original organization, more especially during the early period of his life, and by impressing their general character upon him, from his local and national character.

6th. The influence of these general external circumstances is modified, in a particular manner, by the peculiar organization of each individual; and thus the distinctive character of each is formed and maintained through life.

7th. No infant has the power of deciding at what period of

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\* Note 149(1): Cf. Nunn - "Education: its Data and First Principles" - p.23.



in forming local and national character (Cf. E. Barker - "National Character" ph. I.) Even with the sixth law few would disagree, and the phrase "distinctive character" is the more welcome because Owen at times seems to conceive of a stereotyped hereditary character common to many.

8th. "Each individual is so organized that, when young, he may be made to receive either ~~the~~ ideas derived from a knowledge of facts, or false notions derived from the imagination, and in opposition to facts. "

This apparently harmless statement, we find, later leads to grave problems - something the same as are involved in the Formal Training idea. If improvement in, say, the memory in one field is not transferred to some other field, can we have the same confidence as Owen in the transfer of "truth" from one field to another? The question is a very wide one and for Owen's system must be answered. If the child is impressed, says Owen, till he is eight years of age, with true ideas, "he will have so many ~~true~~ impressions in unison and strict accordance with all the facts by which he is surrounded that they will become to him a 'Standard of Truth' by which he will be enabled, in most cases, to say at once whether they are ideas derived from facts and certainly true - whether they are probabilities..... or whether they are mere visions of the fancy....." "The future superiority or inferiority of the whole character and conduct of the child will depend on the right or wrong direction which shall be given from birth to his capacity for feeling, and his power for receiving convictions." \*

(N.M.W. I.34.)

This idea is almost peculiar to Owen's optimism, and its confirmation, would do much to bolster up his general theory. Unfortunately this seems impracticable. It is now amplified in the 9th and 10th laws:-

\* See note in App., p. iii.



he shall be made to receive true fundamental principles, without any admixture of error.

10th. Each individual is so organized that, when young, he may be trained to acquire injurious habits only, or beneficial habits only, or a mixture of both."

The difficulty is still the same: Owen talks lightly of making a child rational or irrational by imparting to him true or false fundamental principles. Does he become wholly rational or wholly irrational? Or only partly so? Owen's statement points to a whole-or-none effect: certain principles which are of such wide application and significance that they penetrate into almost the whole intellectual sphere, will render the child to that extent rational or irrational; and such is Owen's confidence that he does not hesitate to state what these fundamental principles are:

(1) "That character is universally formed for, and not by, the individual."

(2) "That any habits or sentiments may be given to mankind."

(3) "That the affections are not under the control of the individual."

(4) "That every individual may be trained to produce far more than he can consume, while there is a sufficiency of soil left for him to cultivate."

(5) "That nature has provided means by which population may be at all times maintained in the proper state to give the greatest happiness to every individual, without one check of vice or misery."

(6) "That any community may be arranged, on a due combination of the foregoing principles, in such a manner as not only to withdraw vice, poverty, and in a great degree, misery, from the world, but also to place every individual under circumstances in



(7) "That all the assumed fundamental principles on which society has hitherto been founded are erroneous..."

(8) "That the change which would follow the abandonment of these erroneous maxims which bring misery into the world, and the adoption of principles of truth - may be effected without the slightest injury to any human being."

(Address at New Lanark."p.110.)

In these maxims, however, we search in vain for touchstones of general application to the intellectual world: they consist of rather vague generalisations on psychology and economics which hardly bear analysis. Owen has raised our hopes without being able to satisfy them.

In the laws 11 - 14 we meet again the difficulty of the place of the will in our conduct:

11th. "Each individual is so organized that he must believe according to the strongest conviction that is made upon his mind; which conviction cannot be given to him by his will, nor be withheld by it.

12th. "Each individual is so organized that he must like that which is pleasant to him or which, in other words, produces agreeable sensations in him; ... and he cannot know previous to experience, what particular sensations new objects will produce on any one of his senses.

13th. Each individual is so organized that his feelings and his convictions are formed for him by the impressions<sup>\*</sup> which circumstances produce upon his individual organization.

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\* Note 152(1): Cf. N.M.W. I. 51. Quoted in Appendix.



independently of himself."

If the essence of conviction is clear or intense cognitive impression and as such accompanied by definite affective processes and an impulse towards adaptive reaction or purposeful activity, then the conviction in our sense cannot be independent of volitional activity. The two are almost synonymous. Similarly with his statement that a man's "character is formed independently of himself." The position is simply untenable: even if a man could not regulate the impressions which impinge upon him from hour to hour, he could still regulate in most cases his feelings, and surely he would not stand outside his own conative activity. Owen's ignorance of the doctrine of free-will was remarked on by Francis Place the first time Owen showed him his manuscript.

According to Owen the process is this: the feelings and/or convictions form the will; these feelings or convictions are independent of his will: he acts according to these convictions: his character is himself-in-action: therefore, his character is formed by external uncontrolled circumstances for which he is not morally responsible.

To make his position worse he invites us to try modifying our present feelings: "Yet it appears that the feelings and  
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convictions are instincts of human nature, - instincts which every one is compelled to possess or receive, and for which no man can have merit or demerit, or deserve reward or punishment.

"That the feelings are instincts of human nature, every one may ascertain for himself, by trying what power he possesses to change, by his will, his present feelings towards those persons or things which he most likes or dislikes, loves or hates."

("New Moral World - I. 8).

\* Note 153(1): Cf. definition of instinct, by McDougall - "Social Psychology" p.30: - Drever - "Instinct" p.13; Bernard - "Instinct".



Laws 15 - 17 do not raise the same problems, and are in fact a sound statement of the necessity for the cultivation of all the various sides of human nature.

15th. "Each individual is so organized that impressions, which at their commencement, and for a limited time, produce agreeable sensations, will, if continued without intermission beyond a certain period, become indifferent, disagreeable.....

16th. Each individual is so organized that when, beyond a certain degree of rapidity, impressions succeed each other, they dissipate, weaken and otherwise injure, his physical, mental or moral powers, and diminish his enjoyment.

17th. Each individual is so organized that his highest health, his greatest progressive improvement, and his permanent happiness depend upon the due cultivation of all his physical, intellectual and moral faculties, or elements of his nature - upon their being called into action at a proper period of life - and being afterward temperately exercised, according to his strength and capacity."†

The 17th Law speaks of "due cultivation" of the faculties - by whom is this cultivation to be carried on? By the educator? But if by the educator, surely they can be cultivated also, to some extent, by the individual himself: in which case the individual does become responsible for his own character-formation. There may be some help in the following:

"....It then, depends on the governing power, in directing the circumstances by which the physical and mental feelings are trained from birth, what shall be the kind of will each person under that government shall possess; and of course whether the prevailing will of the individual shall be essentially good or bad, superior or inferior: also, whether the stimuli to act shall be strong or weak - for this likewise depends upon the manner of forming the

† Cf. Tate - 'Philosophy of Ed.', 1857: due regard to 'this world and the next' in development of faculties.



of the moral feelings, or both, the whole process of deciding human actions is thus resolvable into a knowledge of the mode by which superior physical and mental feelings may be given to the individuals from their birth."

("New Moral World. I. 15.")

That is, if we know how to produce certain feelings and convictions, we can to that extent produce character of any pattern we wish: it follows that the educational environment will be ultra-potent in deciding character: if that environment is superior, it will form superior characters:-

"It will be known that man is altogether, a being whose organization, feelings, thoughts, will and actions, are predetermined for him by the influence of external circumstances acting upon his original constitution, and that he is, therefore, irresponsible for the character formed for him, whatever it may be."

("New Moral World. I. 15.")

"Its principle is that every human being that comes into existence with an organization not diseased, may be made to be either very inferior or very superior throughout life, unless accident or disease should affect the original constitution: and that the one or the other is to be accomplished through the instrumentality of inferior or superior circumstances..."

("New Moral World. I. 20.")

Laws 18 - 20 give a mathematical account of the influence of environment (E) and heredity (H):

18th. "Each individual is so organized that he is made to receive... a bad character when he has been placed from birth amidst unfavourable circumstances.

19th. Each individual is so organized that he is made to receive a medium character, when he has been created with a favourable proportion of the elements of his nature, and has been placed, from birth, amidst unfavourable circumstances:-



of these elements, and an unfavourable proportion of others; and has been placed through life in varied external circumstances, producing some good and some evil sensations. This compound has hitherto been the general lot of mankind.

20th. Each individual is so organized that he is made to receive a superior character, when his original constitution contains the best proportion of the elements of human nature, and when the circumstances which surround him from birth, and through life, are of a character to produce ~~to produce~~ superior sensations only; or in other words, when the laws, institutions and customs, under which he lives, are all in unison with the laws of his nature..."†

i.e. Given bad E and bad H, the result is bad.

" " E " good H, " " " medium.

" good E " bad H, " " " medium.

" good E " good H, " " " good.

This neat tabulation must have had more plausibility for Owen than for one informed by later research of the immensely complicated process of biological transmission.\*

As a general deduction from these twenty "laws", Owen feels his optimism fully justified: society is on the edge of great changes for the better: "These facts and laws make it evident that human nature is a compound of qualities, different from that which it has hitherto appeared to be; that these qualities have been misconceived

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\* Note 156(1): Cf. Thomson & Geddes - "Evolution," p.248, p.176, etc. MacBridge "Evolution" Ch.I.

\*\* Note 156(2): Cf. Adams - "Evolution of Educational Theory" p.321 on optimism among educationists - Quoted in Appendix.

† Cf. Thorndike's dictum (Op.cit.p.II7) that 'each man in part selects his own environment'.



He has mistaken the most important instincts of his nature for the creations of his will, whereas facts now prove that his will is created by these instincts."

("New Moral World." I. 65.)

And again:-

"Under this change, man will appear to be a new-created being. The powers, capacities, and dispositions, cultivated under a system of falsehood, arising from ignorance of the laws of his nature, will assume another character when cultivated from infancy under a system of truth....."

("New Moral World." I. 71.)



CHAPTER IX.

APPENDIX I.      NOTES.



consists in the sequences of its ideas; that the object of education, therefore, is to provide for the constant production of certain sequences, rather than others; that we cannot be sure of adopting the best means to that end, unless we have the greatest knowledge of the sequences themselves....."

....."if the sensations which are most apt to give commencement to trains of ideas, are skilfully selected and the trains which lead most surely to happiness, first of the individual and next of his fellow-creatures, are by custom effectually united with them, a provision of unspeakable importance is made for the happiness of the race."

Note 145(1): Paton - "Idea of the Self" p.83 ("Nature of Ideas" - University of California Publications VIII.)

"We have maintained that neither the self nor its activities can be observed, even in the sense in which colors and sounds can be observed. And we have suggested positively that the self and its activities must be known by a kind of inference, however instantaneous, or perhaps better by a kind of reflection upon the nature of the world which we know. And all who profess such self-knowledge.. imagine that they are describing something real..."

(Op. Cit. pp.97-98.) "We have argued that the self is not merely body, but body and spirit, and we have asked how we are to know the self as spirit, that is as knowing willing and feeling and so on. We have maintained negatively that neither the self nor any activity of knowing or ... and we would add-of feeling, so far as feeling is not an object but an activity.... can be known by introspection, can be an object directly or immediately observed by the mind which is supposed to possess or be these activities. We have



between subject and object, between the knowing and the thing known. We have asserted further that spiritual activity is not and cannot be a series of mental processes or events, each ending as the next begins, and that spiritual activity necessarily transcends the moment and is a whole whose differences are within itself, each so-called part being what it is only as part of a whole which is and must be one consciousness throughout all its so-called parts. Again, spiritual activity is nothing apart from the objects to which it is directed and the words or other medium in which it is expressed. We understand our past experience by having lived it and by being able to live it again when we bring before ourselves as an object, not it, but the objects with which it was concerned, the words in which it was expressed, and so on.

.....In all this there is enjoyment but not observation of the self and its activities. We are not denying that observation may help us to understand ourselves, but it is observation not of our activities but of their objects."

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Note 152(1): "New Motak World" I. p. 51.

"The sensations produced by the impressions of the first external circumstances give a new character to the organization: other external circumstances then act upon this altered organization, and further change it, until it acquires power to react upon the external circumstances. The power, however, thus acquired, is the combined result of the original organization, formed without the knowledge of the individual, and of the influence upon it of the peculiar external circumstances which happened to exist around the individual in consequence of the age of the world in which he was born, of the country in which he lived, etc...."



Note I50(I) : Cf. Bagley - 'Educ. Process', pp.2,3,17, etc. :  
he shows that if we wish to make transfer of conduct assured,  
we must make the ideal conscious . Cf. Bode - 'Fundamentals  
of Ed.', p.70 : 'If conduct is to be rational or intelligent,  
it is necessary to use our ideals so as to discover the  
values that are at stake in a given situation , so that we  
may seek to conserve these values to the best of our ability' .

Cf. also Charters - 'Training of Ideals' , 1929, p.347:  
'The development of character demands equal emphasis upon  
integration and specific learning' .



subject is highly important in his general system. The optimism of the time concerning the improvable nature of human nature may however be noted, since in the 1818 "Encyclopædia Britannica" James Mill could write: "Though it is ascertained to prove, beyond a doubt, that if education does not perform everything, there is hardly anything which it does not perform...."

The most widely quoted passages on the subject in Owen's work are in his "New View of Society", First Essay, (p.10.): "Any general character, from the most ignorant to the most ignorant, from the most ignorant to the most ignorant, is given to any community, even to the world at large, by the application of proper means; which means are to a great extent at the command and under the control of those who have the power to apply them."

## CHAPTER X.

### OWEN ON ENVIRONMENT AND

### HEREDITY.

"No," replied Bentham, "Owen was not *mad simpliciter*, he was only *mad secundum quid*."

(Holyoake - "Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life." I.120.)

again: "The government of any community may form the individuals of that community into the best or into the worst characters."

Now the important point here seems to be that in these passages Owen is speaking of the influence of environment not on an individual but on a community. So far his views are not really controversial: it is when he attempts the treatment of individuals that he lays himself open to criticism.

The above statements, are only a simplified version of Owen's ideas, as we see when we turn to the New Moral World (1836), Book I p.1, in which he makes a more exact statement in three fundamental propositions:-

\*Note 155(1): Cf. Helvetius, etc. quoted in Appendix.  
Cf. Holyoake - "Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life" I. p.120 - Quoted in Appendix.

\*Note 155(2): Cf. E. Waller - "Life of Paine" p.1. Quoted in Appendix.



subject is highly important in his general system. The optimism of the time concerning the improvability of human nature may meantime be noted, since in the 1818 "Encyclopædia Britannica" James Mill could write: "Enough is ascertained to prove, beyond a doubt, that if education does not perform everything, there is hardly anything which it does not perform...."

The most widely quoted passages on the subject in Owen's work are in his "New View of Society", First Essay, (p.16.): "Any general character, from the best to the worst, from the most ignorant to the most enlightened, may be given to any community, even to the world at large, by the application of proper means; which means are to a great extent at the command and under the control of those who have influence in the affairs of men." And: ..... "children can be trained to acquire any language, sentiments, belief, or any bodily habits and manners not contrary to human nature." Or, again: "The government of any community may form the individuals of that community into the best or into the worst characters."<sup>\*\*</sup>

Now the important point here seems to be that in these passages Owen is speaking of the influence of environment not on an individual but on a community. So far his views are not really controversial: it is when he attempts the treatment of individuals that he lays himself open to criticism.

The above statements, are only a simplified version of Owen's ideas, as we see when we turn to the New Moral World (1836), Book I p.1, in which he makes a more exact statement in five fundamental propositions:-

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\* Note 158(1): Cf. Helvetius, etc. quoted in Appendix.  
Cf. Holyoake - "Sixty Years of An Agitator's Life" I.  
p.120 - Quoted in Appendix.

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\*\* Note 158(2): Cf. G. Wallas - "Life of Place" p.7. Quoted in App  
Cf. F. F. - "Thoughts on Education" p.2. Quoted



such original organization and external influences continually acting and reacting each upon the other."

"2nd. That man is compelled by his original constitution to receive his feelings and his convictions independently of his will."

"3rd. That his feelings or his convictions, or both of them united, create the motive to action called the will, which stimulates him to act, and decides his actions."

"4th. That the organization of no two human beings is ever precisely similar at birth."

"5th. That, nevertheless, the constitution of every infant, except in case of organic disease, is capable of being formed into a very inferior or a very superior being, according to the qualities of the external circumstances allowed to influence that constitution from birth."

There is a real difficulty in the 5th statement: does he mean that every child, unless actually diseased, can be formed into a "very inferior" being by unfavourable circumstances, or into the opposite by favourable circumstances? Is he judging by a relative or by an absolute standard? Does "inferior" mean inferior relatively to his original constitution? We are left in doubt, but Owen probably uses "inferior" absolutely, i.e. favourable environment will be so potent for good that even a child handicapped by heredity may be made into a "superior being" as judged by any standard. Thus in New Moral World I. 32 he says:-

"It is thus by the quality and quantity of external circumstances, properly applied for the purpose, that the character of every human being, after he comes into existence, may be principally formed, whatever may be his organization, short of organic disease, to become, at maturity very inferior or very superior. It is thus that future generations may be placed or trained, from



men, and greatly superior to them, physically, intellectually and morally."

And again, (N.M.W. I.32):-

"The proper business of man, hereafter, will therefore be to make himself thoroughly acquainted with "the science of the influence of circumstances over human nature" and by a knowledge of this science he will hold the destinies of future ages, as to their inferiority or superiority, their misery or happiness, under his control."

Of the quality of the influence of environment on human nature, he says, (N.M.W. I.5):-

....."The influence of external circumstances upon the organization, partakes more of the character of a chemical action than of a mere mechanical impression. Impressions made upon the organism, form a new compound with it, and more or less alter its powers of reacting upon external circumstances; producing thereby a change in the character of the individual."

Here Owen certainly is impugned by almost every finding of modern psychology based on mental testing: the child who starts with an inferior equipment will never make up on the child of superior equipment, given equally favourable circumstances in both cases. \*

Again, in the "twenty fundamental laws" (N.M.W. I.24) he says that the diversity between the original animal propensities, intellectual faculties and moral qualities, "constitutes the original difference between one individual and another" (3rd Law). Then the 5th and 6th Laws add: "Each individual comes into existence within

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\* Note 160(1): But see Morrison - "Basic Principles in Education" on the case of Helen Keller, and on the mental testing of canal-boat children, pp.400 ff. and Tennessee mountain pupils. Quoted in Appendix. Also Cf. Bagley - "Determinism in Education" (p.140).

\*x Note 160(2): Cf. Terman - "Intelligence of School Children" (1919) p.142.



and national character."

"The influence of these general external circumstances is modified, in a particular manner, by the peculiar organization of each individual, and thus the distinctive character of each is formed and maintained through life."

This in general seems most reasonable: we only avoid the statement of moral qualities as original in the individual, though experiment has not even yet made it clear if specific moral qualities are transmitted.\*

It must be remembered that, like James Mill writing in the "Encyclopaedia", Owen had not the advantage of a knowledge of the experimental results that are now commonplace. This has, in fact, been a happy hunting-ground for biological experiment, but most of the important work has been done since Owen's heyday - work such as the publication of the "Origin of Species" (1859), De Candolle's "Histoire des Sciences" (1873), Galton's "English Men of Science" (1874), "Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development" (1883), "Hereditary Genius" (1880), "Natural Inheritances" (1889), and (with Schuster) "Noteworthy Families" (1906), de Vries' "Mutation Theory" (1900); investigations into family histories like Estabrook's "The Jukes in 1915" (1916), Ellis's "A Study of British Genius" (1916), Goddard's "Kallikak Family" (1914), and carefully planned statistical studies such as Pearson's "On the Laws of Inheritance in Man" and "On the Inheritance of the Mental and Moral Characters in Man" (Biometrika III, Part II.) (1904), or reports such as the 27th Year Book of the American National Society for the Study of Education. \*\*

\* Note 161(1): Cf. Murchison - "Yearbook of Experimental Psychology" (1930), chapter on Social Psychology.

\*\* Note 161(2): No attempt need be made here to notice even the great names in this field.



as to the importance of environment.

In general we are left with certain impressions:-

(1) Owen hesitates to accept the view of direct improvement by the environment of the individual's inherited qualities, such as intellect, much as he would like to fit this into his general scheme. At times he seems prepared to go the full length; but in general he wisely confines the application of improvement by environment to the community itself.

(2) Owen is not interested in the later problems raised by technicalities of the transmission of improvements to offspring.

(3) The "heredity" which Owen has in mind as able to be affected for good or bad by environment is not biological but rather social; the standing or quality of a community may be enormously modified by its social inheritance. Of this the most important part seemed to Owen to be a training in truth, in thinking rationally, in submitting ideas to the touchstone of reason. As part of the social inheritance consists in the contact one generation has with the preceding generation, the difficulty of securing the condition of a "rational" training is apparent.\*

(4) In the whole problem of the influence of environment and of heredity, a regular battleground in the 19th century, Owen was by no means alone in thinking environment the larger of the two factors. That the problem, even yet, is not resolved can be seen from some results given in the 27th Yearbook of the National Society already mentioned: there a paper<sup>is given</sup> by Freeman, Holzinger and Mitchell

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\* Note 162(1): The difficulty was recognised also by Fichte who proposed to separate children from the corrupting influence of their parents.



(a) Foster-children improved in intelligence more in good than in poor homes.

(b) Siblings brought up in the same home correlated more than siblings brought up in different homes.

(c) There was a correlation of .52 between the intelligence of the children <sup>and</sup> with the cultural status of the adoptive homes.

The other investigations of the group show a lower correlation than this, e.g. Burks assigned about 17% of the variability of intelligence to differences of home environment.

Thorndike's conclusion ("Educational Psychology") is this: \*  
"We may even expect that education will be doubly effective once society recognises the advantages given to some and denied to others by heredity..... To the real work of man for man - the increase of achievement through the improvement of environment - the influence of heredity offers no barrier. But to the popular demands from education and social reforms, it does.... In the actual race of life, which is not so much to get ahead as to get ahead of somebody, the chief determining factor is heredity."

"But the prizes which education ought to seek are all within its power... For the common good it is indifferent who is at the top, which men are achieving most. The important thing for the common good, for all men, is that the top should be high, that much should be achieved. To the absolute welfare of all men together, education is the great contributor."

\* There is much in this wise statement with which Owen would have agreed, and the last two sentences of the quotation would have pleased him greatly. His impatience at the limits supposed to be set by heredity have been stated by one of the modern protagonists in the issue, Bagley, who in his "Educational Determinism" (1925) has  
\* 1910 ed., p.139. Cf. 'Meast. of Int.', 1930, p.462, quoted App.p.iv.



education: "The current teachings of the determinist school are dangerous, because they proceed with an apparently dogmatic disregard of the possibilities of insuring progress through environmental agencies."

(p.30.)

and (b) "The determinist confines his thinking to organic evolution: he deals with the period before the dawn of mind. But after the dawn of mind certain agencies, e.g. writing, speech, have changed the situation, i.e. "He (the determinist) is forgetting that the development of the universal school is the latest scene in this great drama of social evolution."

(p.31.)

The opposite view to Owen's was given by the contemporary writer, Newnham, author of "Principles of Education" (1823 - pp.229-230), who set more weight on inherited differences. The comparison may be enlightening.

"There are.... differences between the several species and varieties of which the genus man is composed; and also between the individuals of the same species, notwithstanding the great similarity of their external circumstances, and of the operation of those causes both physical and moral, which tend more particularly to influence the development of the manifestations of mind..... it will be found not only that one class but that one individual of that class will be more susceptible of the process of instruction than another..."

....."there are original aptitudes for the reception of instruction; there are privileged organizations which are not only more susceptible of intellectual effort than others, but which appear to possess a greater power of bringing to maturity some peculiar talents, the predominance of which make up what is justly termed the character of the individual."



will be discernible at a very early age, long before education and habit, or the faculty of imitation can have exerted their influence. Moreover these peculiarities are by no means necessarily handed down from parent to children, for in the latter we sometimes trace the early predominance of very opposite modes of thought and reasoning. In investigating the minds of children; we scarcely find any two in one family which are not characterized by very different properties..!"

.....(Op.cit.p.236) And, unlike Owen, he marks out for special reference peculiarities of disposition due to age and sex, and differences in temperament. \* (Op.cit.pp.261-5.).

The difference between Newnham and his school and Owen seems to amount to this: that while they both accept inherited differences, Owen is much more optimistic as to their modifiability by education: and Newnham in common with Churchmen, e.g.Oberlin, feels that some inherited tendencies or weaknesses are so deepseated that education will not be able to counteract them.

A further and more difficult stage, however, is reached in Owen's deduction from the 13th Law: "Each individual is so organized that his feelings and his convictions are formed for him by the impressions which circumstances produce upon his individual organization..." and (14th Law)...."his whole character is formed independently of himself." Here seems to be the crux of the matter: Owen grants that individuals differ in original endowment: but this difference, though it cannot be offset altogether, need not hinder the governing or educating body<sup>†</sup> from directing the impressions to which the child

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\* <sup>still</sup> Note 165(1): Newnham uses the classification (1) sanguineous, (2) choleric, (3) melancholic, (4) phlegmatic. (Op.cit pp.264.)

† Cf. Thorndike - Op.cit. p.139 : 'Ed. will be doubly effective once society recognises the advantages given to some and denied to others by heredity' .



or both, the whole process of deciding human actions is thus, resolvable into a knowledge of the mode by which superior physical and mental feelings may be given to the individuals from their birth."

(New Moral World I. 15.). \*

Owen's position, then, regarding environment is not so different from Herbart's: they both accept individual inherited differences, \*\* but regard these as of minor importance compared with what can be done by - in Herbart's case - regulated instruction, or, in Owen's, regulated environment: the worst combination of environment (E) and heredity (H) should be not bad E and bad H (19th Law), but, because we can always regulate E, good E and bad H, giving only a medium character.

This is another way of stating his view of the cause of the difference between two individuals, e.g. members of the same family: \*\*\*  
"The slight degree of difference.... is owing, in part, to the variety in the compound of elements which formed the constitution at birth; and also, in part, to the variety in the order in which the impressions from external circumstances are made upon them, and to the degrees of strength, or to the frequency, with which they happened to be impressed upon the different parties." †

(New Moral World 38.)

\* Note 166(1): Cf. Morrison - "Basic Principles in Education" p.407: "So far as physiological evidence has been accumulated, it all goes to show that in so far as experience has any effect on the physical organism, the effects are confined to sensori-motor and affective experience processes. So far as we know, experience has no effect on the mental processes themselves, but rather enriches the perceptual range in appercepts and accumulates product in the memory system, in a word, ideational background."

\*\* Note 166(2): R.R.Rusk - "Philosophical Bases of Education" (p.50) thinks that Owen's principles applied only to a collective group, not to the individual. But this does not seem warranted by Owen's writings on the subject, e.g. "New Moral World" (p.236.)

\*\*\* Note 166(3): We need only mention the difficulty he raises immediately after this statement by his reference to society as a whole: "good habits must be given to all, or the best cannot be given to any." ("New Moral World. 39.)

† Cf. Thorndike - op.cit. p.138.



out dispute in the later 19th century, which we can safely pass by.

His final position is not so very different from that of a modern like H.C. Morrison: hope for the future lies less in biology than in education: "The hope of the world for escape from the evils which try mankind cannot be along the pathway of something better than homosapiens; hope is bright along the pathway of an instructional system which in the end will make all normal men and women as civilized as the most fully civilized are today. What lies beyond that we do not know. Whatever it is, we can be sure that it can be nothing else than a better civilization growing along the trunk line out of the art of living which already exists."

("Basic Principles of Education")  
p.442.

What interested Owen most was perhaps the implications of the method of creating a favourable environment - teaching "truth," and permitting "all of human kind to act in conformity with the unchangeable laws of their nature." (New Moral World I.37), and in so doing he would have been in line with much opinion of the present day. Thus we find E.J. Swift in his "Psychology of Youth" (Ch.3) picking out these questions as the most pertinent for us to ask:

"Heredity is a tremendous social force. After admitting all this, however, the vital problem is still untouched. The practical question is not what is inherited, but rather what can be realized. Will the brain tissue be utilized to its fullest capacity? Will the 'born genius' always reveal his power? Or, to ask a still more

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\* Note 167(1): Cf. James Mill in "Encyclopædia Britannica(1818) pp.18-19. Quoted in Appendix.

\*\* Note 167(2): Cf. Adams - "Evolution of Educational Theory"pp.357-8, summing up the chances of improving the human stock. Quoted in Appendix.



if not Owen's theory, at any rate his practical conclusion. Thus Benjamin Kidd in his "Science of Power", with the experience of Japan in mind, relates Darwinian thought to modern state practice, and if he avoids Owen's "millennial" hopes, looks for intensive changes to be brought about by Owen's method, education: "It is becoming evident that all the truth there is in Darwin's great conception may be summed up in a single word - integration.... But the fittest in life is simply the most advanced integration. Darwinism dealt with the individual, and with the individual before the advent of mind. The law of the integration of the individual has become the law of the supremacy and of the omnipotence of brute force. But other and higher integrations are now on foot in the world which rest on mind and spirit. It is the laws and the meanings of these integrations which are carrying the world into new horizons...."

(Page 40).

"The will to attain to an end imposed on a people by the emotion of an ideal organized and transmitted through social heredity is the highest capacity of mind. It can only be imposed in all its strength through the young. So to impose it has become the chief end of education in the future..... Give us the Young and we will create a new mind and a new earth in a single generation."

(Page 298.).



"I regard the university, the virgin and purest of  
as the product of instruction." (p. 23)

"If I can demonstrate that man is, in fact, nothing more than  
the product of his education, I shall doubtless reveal an import-  
ant truth to mankind. They will learn that they have in their own  
hands the instrument of their greatness and their fallibility and  
that to be happy and powerful nothing more is required than to  
perfect the science of education." (p. 24)

"Qualities" **CHAPTER X.** The inequality of mind or  
understanding, in the eyes of a human being, and this comes in  
**APPENDIX I. NOTES.**  
the difference in education." (p. 25)

Note 108(1): Dr. Johnson - "Early Years of an Autobiography" (p. 108)

"The tradition of Johnson was perpetuated through the  
Bentham, in Robert Owen, to whom it was first introduced by  
William Godwin. Owen desired to create a new, improved nation,  
and to form a new character of man, and to reform the world, and to  
reform the human character by placing children in a new birth, under certain  
social conditions, and to reform the human character by placing children in a new birth, under certain  
social conditions." (p. 109)

Note 158(1): Dr. Locke - "Thoughts on Education" (p. 158)

"I think I may say that of all the men we meet with, none  
more of this sort are to be found, and that, in fact, by  
their education. It is in that which makes the great difference in  
mankind. The little, or almost insensible impression on our  
tender infancies here and there produces very great consequences." (p. 159)



"I regard the understanding, the virtue and genius of man as the product of instruction." (p.2.)

"If I can demonstrate that man is, in fact, nothing more than the product of his education, I shall doubtless reveal an important truth to mankind. They will learn that they have in their own hands the instruments of their greatness and their felicity and that to be happy and powerful nothing more is requisite than to perfect the science of education." (p.3.)

"Quintilian, Locke and I say: The inequality in minds or understandings, is the effect of a known cause, and this cause is the difference in education." (p.94.)

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Note 158(1): Cf. Holyoake - "Sixty Years of An Agitator's Life."  
I. 120.

"The tradition of Helvetius was perpetuated alongside of Bentham, in Robert Owen, to whom it had been transmitted by William Godwin. Owen denied the ideas of liberty, responsibility, merit and punishment, and wished to reform humanity, and to form human character by placing individuals, from birth, under certain social conditions which he himself realised artificially in his model factory in New Lanark."

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Note 158(2): Cf. Locke - "Thoughts on Education." p.2.

"I think I may say that of all the men we meet with, nine parts of ten are what they are, good or evil, useful or not, by their education. It is that which makes the great difference in mankind. The little, or almost insensible impressions on our tender infancies have very important and lasting consequences...."



he expects to see your (James Mill) son John's innate propensities break out presently and form his character.... The position I take against him is that the generality of children are organized so nearly alike that they may by proper management be made pretty nearly equally wise and virtuous."

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Note 160(1): Morrison - "Basic Principles of Education" (p.399), on Helen Keller contrasting systematic instruction and casual-environmental influence:

"If the teacher of one of a pair of identical twins were as well educated in systematic procedure as Miss Sullivan, while the other fell into the hands of a poor teacher or none at all, it is reasonable to suppose that the difference between the twins would come to be far greater than would be likely to be produced by differences in casual environmental influence alone."

On the inconsistent scores for two groups of children when tested at different times after different amounts of schooling, Morrison says (p.400): "The pupils had taken on the learning which the test had been designed to test."

Also, Cf. J.A. Nietz - "What does the Terman Group Test of Mental Ability measure?" - "School of Education Journal, University of Pittsburgh" Jan-Feb.1928.

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Note 167(1): James Mill - "Encyclopædia Britannica" 1818.

"One of the most important of the remaining questions, of that sort, refers to the degree in which the useful qualities of human nature are, or are not, under the powers of education. This is the subject of a famous controversy, with names of the highest authority on both sides of the question. Helvetius, it is true, stands almost alone, on one side. But Helvetius, alone, is a host. No one man,



"M. Helvetius says that if you take men who bring into the world with them the original constituents of their nature, their mental and bodily frame, in that ordinary state of goodness which is common to the great body of mankind....., you may regard the whole of this great mass of mankind, as equally susceptible of mental excellence; and you may trace the causes which make them to differ. If this be so, the power of education embraces everything between the lowest stage of intellectual and moral rudeness, and the highest state, not only of actual, but of possible perfection. And if the power of education be so immense, the motive for perfecting it is great beyond expression."

(p.19.)

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Note 167(2): Adams on Owen's hopes of producing a better race.  
(Evolution of Educational Theory" pp.357-8.)

"It is generally believed that though since Plato there has been an enormous increase in the acquisitions of the human race, there is no evidence of any increase of capacity. It would appear that all the educator can hope for is by proper selection to get human capacity at its best, and to eliminate those elements that interfere with free development, in the hope that in this way he may realise the full possibilities of human nature submitted to him as a mere datum."

"Can human capacity be improved?" asks Adams: probably yes, since "it is on this possibility that the theory of evolution depends, though this improvement during recorded time cannot be traced.

Cf. H.H. Horne - "Idealism in Education." p.150.

"While capacity has increased during all past time, we cannot trace its increase during historic past time; this does not discourage the thought of the increase in future time, for the simple



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## CHAPTER XI.

### THE AIM OF EDUCATION - OWEN.

"Happiness! Is that climax or bathos, or cruel irony? Happiness is the end? Yes, happiness is the end which indeed we all reach after; for what more can we wish than that all should be well with us - that our wants should be filled, and the desire of our hearts be gratified? And happiness cannot escape us, we must know it when we find it? Oh yes, it would be strange indeed to come to such a consummation, and never to know it. And happiness is real and palpable, and we can find it by seeking it? Alas! the one question which no one can answer is, 'What is happiness?' - which everyone in the end can answer is, what happiness is not. It has been called by every name among men, and has been sought on the heights and in the depths; it has been wooed in all the shapes on earth and in heaven, and what man has won it? Its name is a proverb for the visionary object of a universal and a fruitless search; of all the delusions which make a sport of our lives it is not one, but is one common title which covers and includes them all, which shows behind each in turn, but to vanish and appear behind another. The man who says that happiness is his mark aims at nothing apart from the ends of others. He seeks the illusory goal of all men; but he differs from the rest that are and have been, not at all, or only in his assertion that happiness is to be found by seeking it."

(Bradley - "Ethical Studies" )  
pp. 85-86.



clearly stated. Education should aim at character-formation - that is the general statement. But what kind of character? Rational character, no doubt - but what exactly that implies we are only told in a negative way: "To educate man to become a rational creature, a new combination of external circumstances must be created; each circumstance devised to effect an especial good, in promoting the object to be obtained.

It is a vain anticipation to expect a rational being to be formed in any of the existing establishments for education, in this or any other country. These are now admirably adapted to force humanity to become insane ....."

(New Moral World.III. 43.)

With his conception of "rational" much grappling will be necessary, since it becomes with him so comprehensive a term as to include all the different ideas involved in full development of a man's faculties by interaction with a suitable environment which can offer for that development "power to create wealth beyond his wants or desires, to new-form the character of all coming generations and... to reform the existing generation, in order that wealth and knowledge and excellence may everywhere abound, and that man may at length enjoy the continually, progressively increasing happiness which from the beginning he has been formed at this period to attain."

(New Moral World.III. 44.)

And: "This improvement in the condition of mankind will be easily introduced into practice as soon as the proper arrangements shall be formed to teach only truth, in accordance with facts, to the young mind, and to permit all of human kind to act in conformity with the unchangeable laws of their nature."

(New Moral World.I. 37.)

\* Note 169(1): See general aim, according to Macnab - "On Owen" p.16: "The ultimate end of the benevolent views of Mr. Owen is the employment, instruction and comfort of labouring classes and of the poor, the education of children, and the universal happiness of mankind."

\*\* Note 169(2): Cf. Pestalozzi, "How Gertrude..." p.156 and Herbart - "Minor Fed. Works. p.61. Quoted in Appendix."



rationality might be obscure, the concept of goodness seemed less doubtful: the good, they were convinced, was what conduced to the general happiness.\* "From all the facts yet known, it appears to be a universal law of Nature or of God, that all life, in whatever form or organization it may appear, desires to be happy; or in other words, that by its natural instinct, it continually makes every effort in its power to avoid or be relieved from pain, and to attain the enjoyment, according to its individual nature or organization, of agreeable and pleasurable sensations... This motive all must have by their nature, as beings with life. There is, therefore, no real merit or demerit in anything that has life."

(New Moral World. III. 1.)

There is a valuable note on the position of Owen and the associationists with whom he may most nearly be linked in psychology, and on the science of character-forming or ethology which J.S. Mill hoped to create, in Leslie Stephen's "English Utilitarians" III.149. It seems worth quoting in full, since it is applicable to Owen also, except that Owen did not subscribe fully to associationism, though his faith in environmental effect is such as to issue in much the same principles:

"In practice Owen and his like had become fatalists rather than necessitarians. Holding that character is formed by circumstances, they had forgotten that our own desires are part of the

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\*Note 170(1): This being assumed, the method which is not too difficult to discover will be the establishing of "good" habits, i.e. habit consistent with the general assumption, and compatible with man's nature known to be "a compound of animal propensities, intellectual faculties and moral qualities," in the child from his earliest years: "Man is so constituted that, by the adoption of proper measures in his infancy and by steadily pursuing them through all the early periods of his life to manhood, he may be taught to think and to act in any manner that is not beyond the acquirement of his faculties: whatever he may have been thus taught to think and to do, he may be effectually made to believe is right and best for all mankind."

("Address at New Lanark." p.116.)



although the two doctrines had been on both sides regarded as incompatible. Upon this endless controversy, I can only suggest one hint. Mill, I think, was right in saying that the difficulty depends on the confusion of "determinism" with "fatalism"; that is, with the belief that the will is coerced by some external force. But he does not see that his doctrine of causation always raised the difficulty. He orders us to think of the succession of ideas as due simply to association, as in the external world events are to be regarded as simply following each other; and in either case it is impossible to avoid the impression that there must be some connecting link which binds together entirely disparate phenomena. We cannot help asking why 'this' should follow 'that' and inferring that there is something more than a bare sequence. The real line of escape is, I think, shown by an improved view of causation. If we hold that the theory of cause and effect simply arises from the analysis of a simple process, we need no external force to act upon the will. There is no 'coercion' involved. Given the effect, there must have been the cause; as given the cause, the effect must follow. 'All the universe must exist in order that I must exist,' is as true as that 'I must exist if all the universe exists.' There is not a man plus a law, but the law is already implied in the man; or the distinction of cause and effect corresponds to a difference in our way of regarding the facts, and implies no addition to the facts. I must not, however, launch into this enquiry. I only note that Mill's view is connected with his favourite principle of the indefinite modifiability of character. (Cf. "Autobiography" p. 108). To Mill, as to his father, this seemed to hold out hopes for the 'unlimited possibility' of elevating the race. If J.S. Mill deemed the 'freedom of the will', or rather the existence of 'will' itself as a separate entity,



we are bound by no fixed, mysterious tie. He thus escapes from the painful sense of coercion by holding that an infinite variety of results is made possible by the infinite combinations of materials, though, in each case, there is a necessary sequence. Association, in fact, is omnipotent. As it can make the so-called necessary truths, it can transform the very essence of character. Accordingly the foundation of the moral sciences is to be found in psychology, for an exposition of which he refers to his father, to Mr. Bain, and to Mr. Herbert Spencer. He thus drops, consciously or not, the claim of treating metaphysical doctrine as common ground, and assumes the truth of the association doctrine. To pass from these principles to questions of actual conduct requires a science not hitherto constructed - the science, namely, of human character, for which he proposes the name Ethology..... The difficulty of forming such a science upon his terms is obvious. It holds an ambiguous place between 'psychology' and the 'sociology' which he afterwards accepts from Comte; and, as Professor Bain remarks, his doctrine would not fit easily to any such science. He has got rid of necessity only too completely. In fact his view of the indefinite power of association, and his strong desire to explain all differences, even those between the sexes, as due to outward circumstances seem to make character too evanescent to be subjected to any definite laws. Ethology, however, is taken by him to be the science which corresponds to the 'art of education', taken in its widest sense, and would, if constructed, be a 'deductive science' consisting of corollaries from psychology, the 'experimental science.' The utility of such a science from his point of view is obvious. It would be a statement of the way in which society was actually to be built up out of the clusters of associated ideas, held together by the unit Man."



accepts the interaction of environment and innate organization (instincts, etc.) a clearer explanation of causation of desires or impulses is demanded of his view.

(2) The logical ground for Owen's belief in the possibility of infinite moral improvement, must be accepted in a much modified form, an extra limiting factor having been brought in (viz. innate organization).

(3) There is a second limiting factor, viz. the innate desire to have happiness: quite conceivably the direction compelled by this desire may be contrary to the direction necessary for moral improvement.<sup>†</sup>

(4) The place of will in any moral development becomes of paramount importance: yet this is the very factor whose existence Owen denies.

We now approach, with the utmost diffidence, the conception, peculiarly vital to Owen's whole educational system, of happiness as the end of conduct: anything which promotes the general happiness is, to that extent, morally right. "Virtue consists in promoting the general permanent happiness of the human race."

(New Moral World, III. 25.) \*

For this he finds a justification which is not metaphysical but simply psychological:

"The highest virtue is that which produces the greatest happiness that human nature can experience; and the highest and most permanent happiness that human nature can experience, arises

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\* Note 173(1): For the "coherence" view, Cf. Paton - "The Good Will" p.122, and for the view of virtue as a mean Cf. Aristotle - "Nic. Ethics" II.-VI.15: "Virtue is the habit of choosing the relative mean, as it is determined by reason and as the man of practical wisdom would determine it."

† Cf. Caird - 'critical Philo. of Kant', II. p.179 : 'Every finite rational being must desire to be happy'.



"The object of human existence, as of all that has life, is to be happy; and the highest attainment of human wisdom is to know how to obtain and to secure that degree of happiness which can be most permanently enjoyed."

(New Moral World.I.51.)

"...all life....desires to be happy..... This is the secret motive or instinct to all physical or mental movements in each individual of the human race. This motive all must have by their nature, as beings with life. There is, therefore, no real merit or demerit in anything that has life."

(New Moral World.III. 1.)

In presenting this as the aim of education, Owen was in good company: <sup>\*</sup>"The principles of education," says Helvetius in his "Treatise on Man"(p.44), "will be variable and indeterminate so long as they do not regard one certain point....The greatest pleasure and the greatest happiness of the largest number of citizens."

And James Mill writing the article on Education in the 1818 "Encyclopedia Britannica" (p.26) writes that the end of education is "the best employment of all the means which can be made use of, by man, for rendering the human mind to the greatest possible degree the cause of human happiness." Consequently, "as the happiness which is the end of education, depends upon the actions of the individual, and as all the actions of man are produced by his feelings or thoughts, the business of education is to make certain feelings or thoughts take place instead of others. The business of education, then, is to work upon the mental successions." (Op.cit.p.9.) Having postulated the end and the way in

\* Cf. Tate - Op.cit.p.I 'education should promote man's happiness ....throughout eternity.'



"The steady conception of the End must guide us to the Means. Happiness is the end; and we have circumscribed the inquiry, by naming Intelligence, Temperance and Benevolence, of which last the two parts are Generosity and Justice, as the grand qualities of mind, through which the end is to be attained. The question is, then, how can these early sequences be made to take place on which the habits conducive to intelligence, temperance and benevolence are founded; and how can those sequences on which are founded, the vices opposite to these virtues, be prevented?" (p.26.). \*

Or again Hutchison in "Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue," II.3.8, states: "In equal degrees of happiness expected to proceed from the action.... the virtue is in a compound ratio of the quantity of good and number of enjoyers..... That action is best which procures the greatest happiness for the greatest numbers." \*\*

Or we may refer to the well-known passage in Bentham's "Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation" (1789) \*\*\* (quoted in Appendix), or to J.S. Mill's "Utilitarianism" Ch.4.p.52. "No reason can be given why the general happiness is desirable, except that each person, so far as he believes it to be attainable, desires his own happiness. This, however, being a fact, we have not only all the proof which the case admits of, but all which it is possible to require, that happiness is a good: that each person's happiness is a good to that person, and the general happiness, therefore, a good to the aggregate of all persons."

\* Note 175(1): Cf. Wm. Godwin: "The Enquirer - Reflections on Ed." (1797) for some advanced ideas on aim (p.78) & method (p.79 & p.82) Quoted in Appendix Cf. Edinburgh Review 1813, Feb. Vol 21 p.208: article on Mill's views on education. Mill had adopted the artificial division of education into (1) physical (2) moral (3) social education (p.4.)

\*\* Note 175(2): Cf. Shaftesbury "Inquiry" (conclusion.)

\*\*\* Note 175(3): See Appendix.

Note 175(4): Jas. Mill: "The end of education is to render the individual as much as possible, an instrument of happiness, first to his self, and next to other beings." (Op.cit. P.11.)



The force with which all expectations act upon the human bosom varies according as they differ in: (1) Intensity, (2) Duration, (3) Certainty, (4) Propinquity. These are the four elements of value which constitute and measure the comparative strength of all human motives." \*\*

The flaws in this universalistic Hedonism to which Owen adhered have been such as to evoke the strongest criticism from almost every quarter. \*\*\* The very meaning of the word, as in the noble passage from Bradley's "Ethical Studies" (pp.85-6), quoted at the beginning of this chapter, is strangely elusive.

Owen seems not to have realised this: the word had for him a magic which it cannot have for us. \*\*\*\* He saw plainly enough that happiness is not the pleasure of the individual, but was willing to accept that it is the greatest pleasure of the greatest number: that formula seemed to him both practicable and reasonable as a moral theory: the greatest pleasure of the greatest number seemed identical with the good of the greatest number. Here Owen parted company with religious

\* Note 176(1): Cf. Laird - "Idea of Value" (1929) on formula worked out by Bernouilli in 1738, stating relation of happiness, wealth and minimum subsistence. The view is associated with Beccaria and La Rochefoucauld also. Cf. also Jevons - "Theory of Pol.Econ." p.27. Quoted in App.

\*\* Note 176(2): Of the difficulties of this process Bentham himself was well aware. Cf. Bentham MSS. U.C.No.14, quoted by Halévy "Growth of Philosophic Radicalism" p.495: " 'Tis is vain to talk of adding quantities which after the addition will continue distinct as they were before, one man's happiness will never be another man's happiness: a gain to one man is no gain to another: you might as well pretend to add twenty apples to twenty pears, which after you had done that could not be forty of any one thing but twenty of each just as they were before.... This addibility of the happiness of different subjects, however, when considered rigorously, it may appear fictitious, is a postulatium without the allowance of which all political reasoning is at a stand: nor is it more fictitious than that of the equality of chances to reality on which the whole branch of the Mathematics which is called the doctrine of chances is established."

\*\*\* Note 176(3): Cf. Sidgwick - "History of Ethics" pp.240-1; Dewey - "Outline of Ethics." pp.36-7, etc.

\*\*\* Note 176(4): Cf. Bradley - "Ethical Studies," p.87: "And if there be any one thing which will nigh the whole voice of the world,.... has agreed to declare is not happiness, that thing is pleasure, and the search for it."



moral world, the moral consciousness, in non-moral terms: morality does not mean pleasure-seeking, however plausible it may be made by adding conditions as to the quality of various pleasures, some being higher, others lower. Such annexed conditions only mean that the theory is inconsistent: what ordinary moral action aims at is not a state of the feeling self in itself or in the greatest number. Herein lies the fundamental difficulty of Owen's theory: the aim of conduct is to be a state of the feeling self, a subjective state which has no content, no reference, no reality, beyond itself; it is one member of an eternally resurgent, eternally perishing series. Surely something less ephemeral must be sought, and the aim must be fixed at the realization not of a changing state but of an abiding value. That value many hold to be the intellectual and moral unity of the self, the development of a coherent moral will. \*\*

Only if we regard happiness as one out of several conditions of realizing ourselves as wholes, of realizing ideas or ideals so fundamental in us as to be the very essence of our spiritual lives and to constitute their ultimate value if viewed sub specie aeternitatis, can we accept Owen's view of happiness as being a worthy end. \*\*\* We cannot postulate an end which is self-contradictory in the sense that completeness is impossible from a series which is ever changing, ever incomplete. "There remains.... to Hedonism either the assertion that happiness is completed in one intense

\* Note 177(1): Cf. N.M.W. III-1: "This motive (viz. happiness-seeking) all must have by their nature, as beings with life. There is, therefore, no real merit or demerit in anything that has life." This seems to destroy for Owen any attempt at constructive moral theory.

\*\* Note 177(2): Cf. Paton's theory of the coherent will as the good. (19) 150 (Op.cit. p.122, etc.) For a criticism of this see Ewing 'Def. of Good'.

\*\*\* Note 177(3): Cf. Bradley - "Ethical Studies" p.96: "Happiness, for the ordinary man, neither means a pleasure nor a number of pleasures. It means in general the finding of himself, the satisfaction of himself as a whole, and in particular it means the realization of his concrete ideal of life." Cf. Adamson - 'Indiv. and Envirt.', p.351: 'Happiness is ethically derivative ..... Psychologically it is primary and fundamental'.



of living but quite obviously has in mind no such pleasure-seeking as the voluptuary might have, but rather some form of living which is "rational", satisfying to the various innate capacities of the individual, and aimed, but not exclusively, at securing the general happiness: nominally pleasure is still the end; in reality perhaps the satisfaction of the rational part of man's nature is nearer the end: the individual will follow some worthy kind of life to which pleasure will be incidental. This means in effect that hedonism is in fact given up as a workable theory. \*\* What has happened with Owen, as with other hedonists, is that starting from a belief on psychological grounds that pleasure or pleasurable feeling is alone desirable, and from a belief on moral grounds that he must live for others as well as for himself, he has bound the two together and assumed the position that the individual must live for the pleasure or happiness of the greatest number. \*\*\*

The real objection from our point of view to Owen's postulation of the happiness of the majority as the "summum bonum" is not its inconsistency as a moral theory but its weakness as a starting-point in constructive educational thought: it makes the self exclusive of other selves, a unit which, in Bradley's words, "repels other units and can have nothing in itself but what is exclusively its, its feelings, its pleasure and pain, - then it is certain that it can stand to others with their pleasures and pains, only in an external

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\* Note 178(1): Bradley - "Ethical Studies" p.99.

\*\* Note 178(2): Cf. Bradley - "Ethical Studies" p.102: "To aim at pleasure is not to get it, and yet the getting of it is a moral duty. We must aim at it then by the way, without caring or trying too much to get it. We are not to think about the rules, except as servants which may be useful or worthless; and about the end perhaps the less we think the better. We are to please ourselves about the rules; we are to please ourselves about the end; for end and rules are neither end nor rules." Also: "To put the whole matter in two words; the precepts of Hedonism are only rules, and rules may have exceptions: they are not, and, so far as I see, can not be made out to be laws. I am not their servant, but they are mine...." (p.109)

178(3) Cf. Bradley - "Ethical Studies" p.114.



thinker of his time, have eschewed as incompatible with his insistence on the interplay of one person with another, by way of charitable treatment. Herein lay the very essence of social improvement: by charity he hoped wonders would be worked; by "rational" education he hoped charity would be born. "Yes, it is true that man may be trained from infancy to know no other language than that of truth; - to have no other feelings for all of his race than pure genuine charity for the thoughts, feelings and conduct of all, of every clime and colour; - and to acquire a spirit of good will and sincere kindness for his fellow-man,..... This is the spirit which can alone insure peace upon earth, make man a rational being, and secure him prosperity and happiness."

(New Moral World. III. 74.)

If the general aim of social life is the greatest happiness of the greatest number, what of the individual himself? His happiness, says Owen, depends on many conditions:-

- (1) "The possession of a good organization, physical, mental and moral.
- (2) The power of procuring at pleasure whatever is necessary to preserve the organization in the best state of health.
- (3) The best education, from birth to maturity, of the physical intellectual and moral powers, of all the population.
- (4) The inclination and means of promoting continually the happiness of our fellow-beings.
- (5) The inclination and means of continually increasing our stock of knowledge.
- (6) The power of enjoying the best society....
- (7) The means of travelling at pleasure.
- (8) The absence of superstition, supernatural fears, and the fear of death.

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\* Note 179(1): Cf. Bradley - "Ethical Studies". p.115.



...to have the character formed for us to express the truth  
upon all occasions, and to have pure charity for the  
feelings, thoughts and conduct of all mankind, and a  
sincere good will for every individual of the human race.  
(12) To reside in a society whose laws, institutions and  
arrangements well organized and well governed, are all  
in unison with the laws of human nature. And  
Lastly, to know that all that have life are as happy as  
their natures will admit, but especially all of the  
human race..... "

(New Moral World.III.5.)

The main point seems to be that the individual's happiness  
will not depend upon his momentary state of pleasurable feeling,  
but upon several factors including:-

(a) "The best education of his powers, i.e. upon the  
individual's powers having been trained and developed to the full.  
Here we seem within an ace of the view held by individualists like  
T.P. Nunn: \* Education is no longer simply the rationalising agent  
but the agent which develops powers without special reference to  
the "rational" as the ultimate value.

(b) Good will in a society which is based not specially on  
a happiness-seeking principle but on a principle in harmony with  
"the laws of human nature," of which happiness-seeking is only one.

The question in Owen's scheme of when or how a child learns  
to make the required "moral" judgment concerning the happiness to  
the community which will be yielded by any action, i.e. when or

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\* Note 180(1): Cf. Nunn - "Education: Its Data & First Principles."  
(1923)p.5: "Educational efforts must, it would seem, be limited to  
securing for everyone the conditions under which individuality is  
most completely developed - that is to enabling him to make his  
original contribution to the variegated whole of human life as full  
and as truly characteristic as his nature permits; the form of the  
contribution being left to the individual as something which each  
must, in living and by living, forge out for himself."



important in any educational scheme. Owen assumes that the child, consistently trained in true principles, will of himself form judgments of value which are also true and, indeed, cannot be otherwise. The difficulty however, is not resolved by this application of a quasi-formal-training argument.

A solution has recently been offered by Hardie in "Truth and Fallacy in Educational Theory" (pp.121-6), who assumes three possibilities concerning "good": it may be (a) an a priori concept; (b) an empirical concept like, e.g. redness; (c) a third alternative. He accepts (c): language may be used for a scientific or for an emotive use, and when we make a value-judgment, we are using language emotively. "Neither the ability to form a priori concepts, nor the ability to use intuitive judgements is involved in learning the meaning of value judgements. This explains reasonably why it is possible for a particular kind of value judgement - moral judgement-to be made by quite young children. Mr. Bertrand Russell, for example, urges that the moral training of children should be practically finished by the time the child is six years of age.

(B. Russell - "On Education." p.189). If it were true that 'good' was an a priori concept, it would be virtually certain that Russell's view was absurd, for the average child of six years is not intelligent enough to form a priori concepts. But it is clearly possible that the child of six years should have been trained to have certain feelings about objects and situations, and indeed to have learned the use of 'good' so as to influence other people's feelings."

"Again, if this account of the nature of value judgements is correct, it follows that the exercise of intelligence is not the only mental process necessary for their formation, but the ability to experience certain emotions is also necessary. A value judgement on this view does not assert that certain emotions are being



is hopeless to teach a child to make value judgements about actions or objects unless the child is in such a situation that he is likely to experience the required emotion."

This cannot, however, be regarded as a full solution of the problem, since Hardie has postulated not only an ability to experience or express an emotion, probably gregarious, but also and prior to this, the intellectual ability or the stage of intellectual maturity to grasp the implication of the situation. Also, it is not a case of "influencing other people's feelings": they may not even be involved at the time: it is a case of making a judgement based on self-persuasion after taking into account, by the exercise of intellect, the main factors that appear.

The system which immediately invites comparison with Owen's is Herbartianism: here we have an opportunity of comparing a professional educator with a layman like Owen. The Herbartian elaboration of theory is certainly impressive. With Herbart the different parts of his theory have been skilfully worked out: the ultimate end of education is virtue or morality.\*

"The one and the whole work of education may be summed up in the concept - Morality..... Morality is universally acknowledged as the highest aim of humanity and consequently of education..... The good will - the steady resolution of a man to consider himself as an individual under the law which is universally binding - is the ordinary and rightly the first thought which the word morality suggests." How is the good will to be created? By forming the circle of the individual's thought: his soul at first is a "tabula rosa" ("Psychologie als Wissenschaft" p.120) which is gradually filled with experiences. Herein lies the teacher's opportunity: if it is

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\* Note 182(1): Cf. Herbart - "Science of Education" p.57, and "Moral and Ethical Revelation of the World the chief Function of Ed.", p.15 (quoted in app. p. VII).



Like Owen, Herbart is alive to the differences in the effects of instruction or presentations: it may end in interest which will affect character, or simply in information.

"Instruction in the sense of mere information-giving contains no guarantee whatever that it will materially counteract faults and influence existing presentation-masses."

("Outline" 35.)

Since for Herbart knowledge makes for virtue,<sup>†</sup> the circle of knowledge must be complete: but the soul being a unity depending on unified self-consciousness, the process of assimilating instruction concerning diverse objects will be accompanied by an aggregating of these single ideas into a unity. The two processes Herbart calls Vertiefung and Besinnung. \*\* "All the interests of a single consciousness must find their place in that person; we must never lose this unity." ("Science of Education." p.123.)

From this he develops his theory of "apperception" - one of his finest contributions to educational theory and one which rounds off the Pestalozzian idea of Anschauung: before Anschauung is effective, there must be a prior apperception-mass in which a new presentation may be absorbed and retained: this will determine how far the new presentation will be effective in influencing character-formation.

All this elaboration or sense of its necessity we miss in Owen. He is content to stand or fall by a regulated environment in which

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\* Note 183(1): Cf. Allg. Päd. II, 2/2. "Science of Education" pp. 122-199; Lange - "Herbart's Outlines of Educ. Doctrine" p. 44: "Mere information does not suffice: for we think of this as a supply or store of facts which one might possess or lack and yet remain the same being."

\*\* Note 183(2): Cf. "Science of Education" pp. 122-3; p. 142 ff.

\*\*\* Note 183(3): Cf. Adams - "The Herbartian Psychology Applied to Education." (1897.), and De Garmo - Op. cit. p. 92 (quoted in App. p. vi)

† Note 183(4): Cf. De Garmo - Op. cit., p. 9 (quoted in App., p. vi)



feel bound to attempt to explain, but he is obviously more concerned with the end than with the process.

That Owen did not further systematise his theory of instruction, as did Herbart, is due also to a different view of the child's original constitution: Owen accepts this as consisting of "animal propensities, intellectual faculties, and moral qualities.": to Herbart "The soul is originally a tabula rosa in the most absolute sense without any form of life or presentation: consequently there are in it neither primitive ideas nor any predisposition to form them. All ideas, without exception, are a product of time and experience." ("Psychologie als Wissenschaft" 120). It is accordingly, the duty of the educator to determine, by presentations, the child to the choice of the good, i.e. by shaping the child's desires, on which his will depends, by rightly organised presentation-masses.

While Herbart, then, constructs his theory for character-development on right instruction, Owen takes a more sweeping view and looks to the general influence of a morally regulated environment: he probably does not see the unique importance of the will in morality

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\* Note 184(1): Cf. Adams - "Evolution of Educational Theory." p.186. Cf. "Science of Education" pp.120-121: "The more individuality is blended with many-sidedness, the more easily will the character assert its sway over the individual..... the individuality must first be changed through widened interest, and approximate to a general form, before they can venture to think they will find it amenable to the general obligatory moral law."

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\*\* Note 184(2): Cf. Herbart - "Minor Ped. Works" p.58; "Umriss" 58; "Allgem. Ped." Introd. Quoted in Appendix.

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\*\*\* Note 184(3): Cf. McKenzie - "Textbook of Ethics" p.57. Quoted in Appendix. This was in fact Macnab's main criticism of Owen. Cf. Herbart on "Moral Strength of Character" ("Science of Education" pp.220-7) "If instruction does not, as a mass of interests, impel the will, then it has been futile. Hocking - "Human Nature and Its Remaking" p.258 - "The first task of education to bring his full will into existence... The whole meaning of education is wrapped up in this process of evoking the will; and apart from it nothing in education can be either understood or placed."



...ing an education with other children guided by a few fundamental laws. \*\* In this he has the approval of many later educationists, e.g. J. Adams - "Evolution of Educational Theory" (1912) p.155:-

"Incessant 'directed' activity leaves no room for the development of qualities that are essential for the true self-realisation of the educand. A stimulating environment with ample opportunities for the working of the forces of imitation and suggestion in a wholesome way is the ideal condition for positive education."

Owen does not expect or even hope to be able to build up character bit by bit, presentation by presentation: his only intention is a general shaping, and it must be borne in mind that the 'good' character for Owen means the 'rational' character. Thus if we take the statement in W.H. Kilpatrick's "Foundations of Method" p.337:- "I seem to see three things in the working of a good moral character: first, a sensitivity as to what may be involved in a situation; second, a moral deliberation to decide what should be done; and third, the doing or the effecting of the decision so made."† - Owen would interpret 'moral deliberation' in accordance with his hedonistic principle, which involves what is not strictly, in our view, a moral assessment at all. Nor could Owen fit his views with Hartshorne's statement ("Character in Human Relations," p.249) that character

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\* Note 185(1): See Appendix to this Chapter on the subject, the problem being stated in brief by Matthew Arnold - "Reports on Elementary Schools," 1852-82" (1901) p.17:- "I have been much struck.... with the utter disproportion between the amount of positive information and the low degree of mental culture and intelligence which they exhibit.... I cannot but think that with a body of young men so highly instructed, too little attention has hitherto been paid to this side of education; the side through which it chiefly forms the character."&

\*\* Note 185(2): Cf. Rousseau - "Emile", p.48: "the aim of early education is a well-regulated liberty." P.55: "Before he knows what goodness is, he will be practising its chief lesson"; P.212: "By doing good, we become good; P.57 "Therefore the education of the earliest years should be merely negative. It consists, not in teaching virtue or truth, but in preserving the heart from vice and from the spirit of error." Cf. McCallister - Op.cit., p.IE (quoted in App., p.vii)

† Cf. Dewey and Tufts - 'Ethics', 1932, p.203 ; Symonds - 'Nature of Conduct', p.291



conceive," since this implies a freedom of will or of action which has no place in Owen's systems, and since the "largest and most inclusive reality" has certainly a very different ethical significance from Hartshorne, who, however, has the advantage of not having been misled by contemporary philosophy - as Owen was - into accepting so imperfect and self-contradictory a view as hedonism.

There is, no doubt, truth in R.J. Perry's<sup>\*</sup> view that where character is harmoniously organized, there will be happiness, and, almost certainly freedoms, a substitution of inner controls for outward restrictions. Owen might have commented that: (a) A harmoniously organized character is only another name for a rational character. (b) The question of individual happiness is not really important, though that of the community is. (c) If a large measure of determinism is conceded; if the environment does give rise to man's "feelings and convictions" and therefore to his impulses, there is no place for freedom of will.

The actual results of many practical character-forming experiments in the United States are summarised by a recent writer<sup>\*\*</sup> thus: they are quoted as showing some of the limitations entailed by Owen's imperfect ethics and his determinism, and, on the other hand, some anticipations owing to his substitution of the law of reason for the prescriptions of orthodox religion.

(1) "A decreasing confidence in the use of formal rules, slogans, creeds, codes, courses and similar formal material, and an increasing confidence in the utilization of opportunities that afford actual practice in natural settings and situations...." This may well be compared with Owen's antipathy to the formal religious instruction of

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\* Note 186(1): R.J. Perry - "Value"

\*\* Note 186(2): McKown - "Character Education" (1935) (New York) p.91.



(3) "A decreasing emphasis upon personal goodness as a sole aim and an increasing emphasis upon social responsibility and social responsiveness." With this Owen's position roughly agrees: since "goodness" consists in furthering the happiness of the community.

(4) "A decreasing emphasis upon particularized and separate elements in a pupil's life and an increasing emphasis upon more or less complete all-roundness." This is in line with Owen's emphasis (N.M.W.III.-5) on the development of the "physical, intellectual and moral powers."....from birth to maturity: if these are developed, one condition at least of happiness will be satisfied; but in McKown the real emphasis is on the demand for response from the person as a unity. Thus Hartshorne (Op.cit.p.263) also, states: "Whatever falls short of enlisting the entire self in happy and free endeavour, so far falls short of being an essentially moral ( or if you please, religious) act." We have already seen the difficulties involved in Owen's failure to conceive rightly the conditions for the development of a moral will.

(5) "A decreasing emphasis upon the objective of a preparation for future life and an increasing emphasis upon real and vital education for the pupil's present life." The same remark concerning "atheism" applies here as in (1) above.

To sum<sup>up</sup>, these points seem to emerge:

(a) Owen's system aims at the development of "rational" beings and therefore takes its place among the many other educational schemes designed to secure the formation of a prescribed type of character.

(b) The ethical difficulties of his system only become obvious when he attempts to equate happiness with the moral summum bonum and to express the moral end in non-moral terms.



to be the exercise of freedom of choice by a freely reasoning self-in-action.

(d) The source of most of his psychological misconceptions lies in the insignificant role given to the will. This was remarked by many of his contemporaries like Macnab.

(e) His determinism conflicts also with his statement of the necessity to develop the individual's innate powers (whose importance he does not dispute) in influencing the quality of the mature adult, and he thus at times approaches the views of later educationists who concentrated on the development of children's innate potentialities.

(f) The conditions which he regards as necessary for the full development of these powers are both spiritual and economic.

(g) A comparison with Herbart shows the latter's greater self-consistency both in psychological detail and principle.

(h) The function of society is left in no doubt by Owen - it is the regeneration of the human race, which will need to be trained until it is activated by the highest morality conceived by Owen - limited though that is now seen to be - and is rendered fully rational in all its members.

(i) The aim of education in Owen's system is over-intellectualised: it takes little cognisance of any part of man's nature but his intellect, despite its being founded on a theory of happiness which emphasizes the affective part of human nature. In actual practice it turns out that the touchstone for the rightness of every action, in Owen, is a severely intellectual one: as such the aim postulated by him remains incomplete.

"Neither ethics nor aesthetics can, however, determine fully the end of Education. This Herbart admitted.... Education must include the ideals of truth and righteousness as well as of goodness and beauty. Intellectual inquiry and religious reverence are as



any more succinct phrase than that of Bucken, namely, "to exalt personality." \*

CHAPTER XL

APPENDIX L

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Rusk, "Doctrines of the Great."

\* Note 189(1): ^ "Educators" p.207. Cf. Mackenzie - "Manual of Ethics" PP.177-182.

Cf. Adamson - Op.cit., p.3, where a strong case is made for adjustment as the end of education, i.e. adjustment primarily to the three orders of being ('nature in visible form'; the world of intellect; the moral order), and ultimately to the 'whole of reality which is God' (p.31).







development of human nature, by the harmonious cultivation of its powers and talents, and the promotion of manliness of life."

Herbart - "Minor Ped. Works." (p.61.)

Herbart picks out the special merit of the Pestalozzian method as: "having laid hold more boldly and more zealously than any former method of the duty of building up the child's mind, of constructing in it a definite experience in the light of clear sense-perception; not acting as if the child had already an experience but taking care that he gets one; by not chatting with him as though in him, as in the adult, there already were a need for communicating and elaborating his acquisitions; but, in the very first place, giving him that which later on can be, and is to be, discussed. The Pestalozzian method, therefore, is by no means qualified to crowd out any other method, but to prepare the way for it. It takes care of the earliest age, that is at all capable of receiving instruction. It treats it with the seriousness and simplicity which are appropriate where the very first raw materials are to be procured."

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Note 170( ): Locke - "Thoughts on Education", § 70.

"It is virtue, direct virtue which is the hard and valuable part to be aimed at in education, and not a forward pertness or any little arts of shifting. All other considerations and accomplishments should give way and be postponed to this. This is the solid and substantial good, which tutors should not only read lectures and talk of, but the labour and art of education should furnish the mind with, fasten there, and never cease, till the young man had a true relish for it and placed his strength, his glory and his pleasure in it."



against its r. The good will overcomes this division or antagonism or incoherence, and is the synthesis of differences in coherent whole." (P.122.)

"The morally good man seems to be the man who is good not as a member of a limited society but of an unlimited society - of a society of societies whose purpose includes all purposes and beyond which there is no other society to be a source of conflicting claims or duties." (P.281.)

"The good man is not merely the man who makes use of society, he is not even the man who co-operates with society so far as society fits in with an individual policy of life which is the expression of naturally generous as well as of naturally selfish impulses. Rather, he is the man who makes the point of view of the whole his own point of view, and judges himself and others from that wider point of view." (P.307.)

"In a good state the furtherance of our own interests, or better the living that life which is the fullest possible realisation of our personality, is often the greatest service which we can render to the whole, but if we are genuinely good, we live that life consciously in the service of the whole."

"His (the good man's) individuality lies in the coherence of his will, and his individuality is the greatest thing that he can give to his country. But his individual policy is now to seek the coherence of the whole co-operative activity, and his, life is now coherent only in so far as it is coherent with the whole." (P.309.)

"The good will seeks to produce a coherent whole of goodness which is in a way impersonal which is not determined merely by any contingent desires or confined to any momentary willings; just as thought seeks to produce a coherent whole of truth which is not determined by any prejudices or confined within the narrow range of any sense perceptions." (P.333.)



and accompanied by desire. The best motive to learn, is a perception of the value of the thing learned." (P.78.)

"According to the received modes of education, the master goes first, and the pupil follows. According to the method here recommended, it is probable that the pupil should go first and the master follow." (P.79.)

"The first object of a system of instructing is to give the pupil a motive to learn." (P.79.)

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Note 175(3): Bentham - "Introduction to Principles of Morals and Legislation." (1789).

"Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, pain and pleasure. It is for them alone to point out what we ought to do, as well as to determine what we shall do. On the one hand, the standard of right and wrong, on the other the chain of causes and effects, are fastened to their throne..... The principle of utility recognises this subjection and assumes it for the foundation of that system, the object of which is to rear the fabric of felicity by the hands of reason and of law..... By the principle of felicity is meant that principle which approves or disapproves of every action whatsoever, according to the tendency which it appears to have to augment or diminish the happiness of the party whose interest is in question: or, what is the same thing in other words, to promote or oppose that happiness."

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Note 176(1): Jevons - "Theory of Political Economy," accepts Bentham's ethical principles (P.27) and his psychology (P.69), but finds difficulty in the mathematical treatment of pleasure (P.12.)

"I confess that it seems to me difficult even to imagine how such estimations and summations can be made with any approach to



"Accordingly questions which appear, and perhaps are, indeterminate as regards individuals, may be capable of exact investigation and solution in regard to great masses and wide averages."

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Note 182(1):

"The one problem, the whole problem of Education, may be comprised in a single concept morality."

(Herbart in Eckhoff's "Herbart's A.B.C. of Sense-Perception, etc." (p.92.))

"The term virtue expresses the whole purpose of Education."

(Umriss § 8).

and "The ultimate purpose of instruction is contained in the notion virtue."

(Umriss § 62.).

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Note 183(1): Herbart - "Allgemeine Paed." Introduction:

"He only wields the full power of education who knows how to cultivate in the youthful soul a large circle of thought closely connected in all its parts, possessing the power of overcoming that which is unfavourable in the environment, and of dissolving and absorbing into itself all that is favourable."

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Note 183(2): Herbart - "Allgemeine Paed." II. 4 2.)

"In order always to maintain in the mind's coherence, instruction must follow the rule of giving equal weight in every smallest possible group of its objects to concentration and reflection; that is to say, it must care equally and in regular succession for clearness of every particular, for association of the manifold, for coherent ordering of what is associated, and for a certain practice in progression through this order. Upon this depends the distinctness which must rule in all that is taught."

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Cf. Stout - "Analytic Psychology," p.137.

"The main principle which psychology lends to the theory of education as its starting point, is the need that all communication of new knowledge should be a development of previous knowledge."

Note 184(1): Adams - "Evolution of Educational Theory" p.186 quotes definition of education by H. Holman - "Introduction to Education" P.20 :-

"Education is the science of human development, in so far as that development is purposely determined by the systematic imparting of knowledge." i.e. "knowledge", says Adams, "is recognised to be the organon of education." (P.186.)

Note 184(2): Herbart: (~~Umriss~~ 58.) (Minor Ped Works "P.58.)

"Man wills only presentations and knows only presentations." (Minor Ped. Works. P.58)

"Volition has its roots in the circle of thought, not, indeed, in the details one knows, but certainly in the combinations and total effect of the acquired presentations." ("Umriss" § 58).

Note 184(3): Cf. McKenzie "Manual of Ethics" (1924 ed.) (P.57):-

"Character may be said to consist in the continuous dominance of a definite universe." He quotes Novalis (P.57) as holding that "a character is a completely fashioned will."

Character has been analysed into:

- (1) A general intellective factor (g) - Cf. Spearman - "Abilities of Man."
- (2) Persistence of motives (W) - Cf. Webb - "Character and Intelligence" 1915.
- (3) Cleverness (c), (allied to humour and originality) - Cf. J.C. Maxwell Garnett - B.J. of Psychology Vol. IX. (May 1919).



"On the one hand it is maintained that knowledge is of value in itself, that it is something worth acquiring for its own sake, that it is the good of the mind. This may be called the nurture theory. On the other hand, it may be contended that knowledge is of value mainly as a means towards an end, that it is in fact an organon, an instrument. By using knowledge in a certain way we may modify the nature of the educand. Knowledge is the educator's tool. This may be called the disciplinary theory." In this way he ..... "True Knowledge.... is what becomes a part of the soul that assimilates it and strengthens the soul. It is not so much that the truly educated soul has certain portions of knowledge, as that it is those portions: they become of its very essence."

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De Garmo - 'Herbart and the Herbartians', 1895, p.32 : 'While Kant approaches the study of mind from the critical a priori standpoint, Herbart sees only the concrete a posteriori side. Apperception with Herbart, therefore, is the assimilation of ideas by means of ideas already possessed, not the Kantian original synthesizing power of mind'.

Note 183(4) : De Garmo - Op.cit., p.9 : threefold work left for Herbart by Pestalozzi and his successors .



in this work Herbart's main idea was that ' through school experiences .... the teacher can reveal the world of moral relations between the individual and his neighbours on the one hand and organised society on the other ' .

P.49 : 'Herbart addressed himself to the task of making a final reduction of all possible will relations , in order thus to arrive at the irreducible moral or ethical conceptions . In this way he arrived at five moral ideas ... '



function of knowledge in education, cf. Locke - 'On Education'  
§19 : the aim was to be not an enlargement of the possessions  
of the mind , but an increase of its powers ). It is no  
accident that the main part of Spencer's essay 'On Education'  
is a discussion of : 'What Knowledge is of most worth? '---  
knowledge being divisible, according to him , into that which  
has intrinsic value , quasi-intrinsic value , and convention-  
-al value . (Cf Combe - 'Education -Its Principles and Practice'  
p.38 )

It is not until fairly late in the century that  
the distinction between knowledge and information becomes  
established. In the early years of the century there was  
supposed to be a virtue in the mere mastering of unrelated  
facts , and such an institution as the Society for the  
Diffusion of Useful Knowledge , founded in 1827, -- see  
Simpson - 'Necessity of Popular Education as a National Object',  
1834, p.23 -- and such publications as Chambers' 'Information  
for the People' , were typical of the period and of its tend-  
ency<sup>to regard</sup> all facts as potential educational or disciplinary  
agencies , and symbolized the supersession of the belief in  
the influence of different qualities of knowledge by a belief  
in the action of all knowledge , just as the Society for the  
Diffusion of Useful Knowledge superseded the Society for the  
Promotion of Christian Knowledge . (Cf. Adams - 'Evolution....'  
p.199). This belief was to lead later to the fetish regarding  
object-lessons, nature-study, and examinable results .



of material... must be done with reference to the proper nutrition of the dominant directions of activity in a given period, not with reference to chopped-up sections of a ready-made universe of knowledge' ('School and Child', p. II4); and he formulates the problem as being of two kinds : to secure that the child's individuality may not be 'swamped by a disproportionate amount of the experience of others to which books introduce him ' ; and to provide situations which induce the child to have recourse to the search for information with the aid of the traditional tools.



CHAPTER XII.

INFLUENCE OF OWEN ON INFANTS  
SCHOOLS.



generally given most credit. Thus Adamson ("English Education 1789-1902", P.22) says of Owen's system:

"Its one permanent contribution to English education was the introduction of the infant school, which from that time onward secured an established place in the national scheme. Owen's disagreement with his partners put an end to the New Lanark schools as Owen had conducted them; but the idea of the infant school survived under the fostering care of such men as Brougham, Wilberforce, James Mill, Zachary, Macaulay and the brothers Wilson."

With this Wodehouse in "A Short History of Education", p.160, agrees:

"It was in the infant schools that the imaginative insight of his (Owen's) pioneer work had the greatest effect."

And Martineau ("Biographical Sketches" p.311) adds:-

Robert Owen was the founder of Infant Schools. Many had conceived the idea, but he was the first to join the conception and the act. De Fellenberg had instituted education in connection with agricultural industry, but had not particularly contemplated infants in his scheme. Others had in theirs; but it was not till Henry Brougham had reported to his parliamentary and other friends in London what was actually being done at New Lanark, and they had consulted with Mr. Owen, and borrowed his schoolmaster, that Brougham, Romilly, Benjamin Smith, Zachary, Macaulay and Lord Lansdowne set up an Infant School at Westminster. This was in 1819, when Owen's school had been in operation three years."

In 1871 at the centenary celebrations of Owen's birth, Huxley, in a speech (quoted by Martineau) singled out the infant school as Owen's main contribution to education:-

"The infant school is, so to speak, the key to the position. Robert Owen discerned this great fact, and with courage and patience



"I have dwelt so long on the infant school established at New Lanark, because it was the first rational step ever carried into practice towards forming a rational character for the human race; and because of the many important subsequent measures to which it gave rise....." ("Life", p.212.)

And: "The great attraction to myself and the numerous strangers who now continually visited the establishment was the new infant school." - "The New Institution for the Formation of Character."

("Life", p.212.)

In the light of later 19th century history it may perhaps be truer to say that the most significant part of Owen's educational work was not so much the infant school principles he espoused but the influence exerted by these principles upon the rest of the elementary course.

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The history of the first infant schools is by no means free of problems, since, practice on the Continent did not develop along the same lines as in England, and it is uncertain how far English educationists were indebted to Continental theory or practice for their ideas.

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We may go first of all to a fairly reliable contemporary source - Thos. Pole's "Observations on Infant Schools" (1823):

"I have," says Pole, (page 6), therefore, taken some pains to obtain the necessary information (on history of infant schools) from those best qualified to afford it; and am under considerable obligations to several friends who have given their assistance;

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\* Note 191(1): Cf. Owen - "Life" p.195: "From this rational infant school have arisen all the unsuccessful attempts to form a second with similar results." Also Cf. "New Moral World" Nov.8.1834. Quoted in Appendix.

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\*\* Note 191(2): Cf. Bache - "Report on Education in Europe." (1839) p.87

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\*\*\* Note 191(3): Cf. Adamson - "Short History of Education" (1905) Quoted in Appendix.



"Some difficulty has arisen in endeavouring to ascertain with certainty, with whom the plan of beginning the education of children at the early age of two years, or two and a half, originated. Emmanuel de Fellenberg, it appears, had long entertained the idea, and Robert Owen, of New Lanark, in Scotland, had it in mind a considerable time before he reduced it to practice. Henry Brougham says he hardly recollects the time at which he himself did not feel persuaded, that what is commonly called education, begins too late and is too much confined to mere learning; he is convinced that Robert Owen was the first person to make the experiment, and to this day Fellenberg's plan, though on principle the same, does not extend to Infants of so early an age.

It is about seven years since Robert Owen's Infant School was completely established; since Fellenberg's was formed maybe about sixteen years. The former is connected with Robert Owen's cotton manufactory..... Fellenberg's establishment for poor children is, in like manner, connected with his agricultural concerns, but still more closely; for they live entirely on the farm, and have no intercourse with their parents; who are, for the most part, persons in the worst classes of society, and have deserted their children."

The issue, according to Pole, seemed therefore to be between Fellenberg and Owen. Of Hofwyl some information is found in the publication of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (1831-1835), the Quarterly Journal of Education\*, Vol.VI.pp.336-351, and in Southey's "Andrew Bell" III.89 ff., etc. Of Hofwyl, Bell wrote in 1816:-

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\* Note 192(1): Hofwyl. See Appendix: Hofwyl was founded in 1799. Cf. Bache - "Report on Education in Europe" (1839) pp.306-10 and Appendix pp.621-2.



read, write, cipher, draw, music and the elements of geometry."

The proportion of time spent on agricultural work and on education proper is significant. By 1816 about 100 boys and 100 girls were cultivating 250 acres of land: they were in fact more like apprenticed farm-labourers, studying for only two hours per day subjects like the flora and fauna of the neighbourhood, carpentry, blacksmith's work, religious instruction, and moral training.

In 1808 Fellenberg opened a "Scientific Educational Institution for the Higher Social Classes."

Cf. Southey - "Andrew Bell" III. 89 ff.:-

"Music and drawing (designing) are in great request in their schools and also geometry. The new school has but one master, Vehrlé (Wehrli) of distinguished merit. The excellency of both institutions (Yverdon and Hofwyl) and their superiority about which, Fellenberg's particularly, an immensity of pamphlets and philosophical disquisitions have been published, consists in both of a single point which is not much noticed. Every class and every scholar has his master always at his side, whether at study, work or play. I had almost forgotten the gymnastics which constitute a principal part of the instruction at both these schools and which deserve imitation to a certain degree."

In confirmation of Pole's assignment of Fellenberg's services mainly to the industrial school, there are the "Reports of M. le Comte de Capo d'Istria and of M. Rengger upon the Principles and Progress of the Establishments of M. de Fellenberg at Hofwyl, Switzerland," (1814 and 1815):<sup>\*</sup> these make it clear that the school was an industrial school, experimenting with agriculture; that instruction had very little part of the time; and that it was in no sense an infants school, the youngest pupil being seven years old.

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\* Note 193(1): Cited by Rusk - "A History of Infant Education." (193 p.108.



Owen, on his continental tour, visited the reformer Pere Girard of Fribourg. In his "Life" (p.240) Owen mistakenly calls him Oberlin: <sup>\*</sup> that it was a mistake there is no doubt, e.g. <sup>\*\*</sup> Oberlin taught in Alsace, not in Switzerland, as did Girard who, again was a Catholic priest, unlike Oberlin, who was a Protestant.

Of his visit to Girard Owen says, ("Life" p.240-3):-

"The first was Father Oberlin's, a Catholic school, conducted in a truly Catholic spirit..... This was a large school, well filled with the poorer class of children, well conducted on charitable principles, according to the old mode of teaching; but it was quite evident that the heart of this good man was in it, and he had laboured hard and long to bring it to the state in which it was when I visited him at Fribourg....."

It is certain, then, that Owen did not meet Oberlin at Ban de la Roche; that some confusion of name has taken place in the above passage, and that Owen's title to independence in planning an infant school is so much the stronger.

Now it is clear that if to anyone, Owen seems to have been indebted for some of his main ideas to Pestalozzi. We must therefore be careful not to pass over Pestalozzi's influence on Owen too hastily, and may do well to scrutinise Owen's reference to their meeting. <sup>\*\*\*</sup> ("Life" p.244) :-

"another good and benevolent man, acting for the benefit of his poor children to the extent of his knowledge and means. He was doing, he said, all he could to cultivate the heart, the head, and

\* Note 194(1): Cf. Kay-Shuttleworth - "Four Periods of Public Education" p.301, Quoted in Appendix. Southey - "Andrew Bell" III.110. Quoted in Ap. Noville - "Public Education" (1833) p.158, quoted Compayre.

\*\* Note 194(2): Cf. Rusk - "History of Infant Education" p.119: "A Mr. Owen did visit Oberlin, but it was Rev. John Owen, M.A., Secretary of the British & Foreign Bible Society, who, writing from Basle on Sept. 16, 1818, says: 'The place from which my last was dated, has completely filled my mind (so) that I can scarcely bring myself to think.... on anything but Pastor Oberlin and his Ban de la Roche.' The letter appears in Mrs. Cunningham's Memoirs of J.F. Oberlin." pp.211-217. Cf. Leith - "Practical Educationists" (1876) p.168.

\*\*\* Note 194(3): Other English visitors to Pestalozzi's school were Brougham, Mayo, and in 1839 Kay-Shuttleworth.



ordinary schools, or the old routine schools for the poor in common society, and we were pleased with it as being this one step in advance, for the rudiments of common school education for the poor, without attention to their dispositions and habits, and without teaching them useful occupation, by which to earn a living, are of little real utility. We left him, being much pleased with the honest homely simplicity of the old man."

This is rather a remarkable passage - to know that Owen should have been so little impressed by the theory and practice of one whose later influence on elementary education was probably greater than that of anyone else in the 19th century, and who seems to stand so closely related in almost every essential to Owen as to fundamental principles and even the best methods - it is explicable only if we assume that Owen, with all the disadvantages of being unable to speak directly with Pestalozzi and of having only a short time to spend at his school, failed to assess the real significance of the work being done.

Certainly, if Owen had felt himself under a debt to Pestalozzi, he was one to acknowledge it to the fullest extent.

Only in the method of teaching mental arithmetic does Owen seem to have known his debt to Pestalozzi. (Cf. R.D. Owen "Outline of System"..., p.40.).

Yet the resemblance in other respects is overwhelmingly clear; the two philanthropists follow the same lines in most things educational: the main difference is in the extent of theoretic elaboration. Neither would confute the end of education postulated by the other; they both criticise the parrot-like catechising

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\*Note 195(1): Cf. "How Gertrude...", pp.156-7:- "the aim of education can be nothing but the development of human nature by the harmonious cultivation of its powers and talents and the promotion of manliness of life."



Gertrude... p.56, Owen would fully agree; he would have welcomed a statement such as: "like Nature with the savage, I always put the picture before the eye, and then sought for a word for the picture."  
\*\*\*  
("How Gertrude..." p.55.).

They agree as to the imperative necessity of a happy, joyous atmosphere in the infant school and the absence of fear or blame; the value of interest; the importance of the family as a social unit and early training ground. Yet Owen dismisses Pestalozzi's system as tolerably sound in theory but only one step in advance of other systems in its failure to develop right dispositions and habits and to train in a useful occupation. Owen is obviously hard put to it to find a valid criticism - the useful practical training usually appears to him as of secondary value. Cf. Adamson - Op.cit., p.100 :-

"That he had learned from Pestalozzi and from Oberlin is probable, although the learning may not have been direct; he does not acknowledge a debt to either. He makes a significant confusion between the Alsatian, Oberlin, an earlier inventor of infant schools, and Girard, a Swiss, who had no special association with schools of that kind. The instruction given in the New Lanark infant school was based on the Pestalozzian principle of intuition; objects, pictures, models, were studied rather than books, oral descriptions or narratives. It was the aim of the teaching to make as much use of play as possible. Owen may have learned these two principles from a foreign source; but it is equally possible that they were the children of his own mother wit or of a study of Locke." (See Note 196(3) in App.)

\* Note 196(1): Cf. "How Gertrude..." p.46. Cf. "How Gertrude..." p.113.

\*\* Note 197(2): Quoted in Appendix.

\*\*\* Note 197(3): For the limitations of Pestalozzi and Owen's view on the importance of "concrete" experience to the learning mind, see Rusk - "History of Infant Education" pp.33-4, where Horne - "This New Education" p.86, is cited thus: "We are in danger of bondage to the concrete. We do not face the abstract squarely enough. Our problem requires finally to be divorced from the concrete setting in which we are enmeshed. To miss this is to miss the value, joy & elevation of symbolic thinking." Cf. also Herbart - "Minor Ped. Works" p.34. Quoted in Appen.

\*\*\* Note 196(4): Cf. Bell's admiration of Pestalozzi, if not of his principles - "Works of Chubbrent" (1879) p. 96



Roche in the villages. There is no doubt about the constructive efforts which he directed towards the spiritual welfare and the agricultural prosperity of the people. The record of his efforts to win them over reads like that of Owen at New Lanark. One of his first objects had been the building of a school, and it was at this time, about 1770, that he clearly conceived the necessity of schooling for children below the usual age when teaching began: "As Oberlin observed with concern the disadvantages to which the younger children were subjected, whilst their elder brothers were at school and their parents busily engaged in their daily avocations, he laid down a plan for the introduction of infant schools also; probably the very first ever established, and the model of those subsequently opened at Paris and still more recently in this country. Observation and experience had convinced him that, even from the very cradle, children are capable of being taught to distinguish between right and wrong, and of being trained to habits of subordination and industry; and, in conjunction with his wife, he therefore formed conductresses for each commune, engaged large rooms for them, and salaried them at his own expense. Instruction in these schools was mingled with amusement; and whilst enough of discipline was introduced to instil habits of subjection, a degree of liberty was allowed, which left the infant mind full power of expansion, and information was conveyed which might turn to the most important use in after life. During school hours the children were collected on forms in great circles. Two women were employed, the one to direct the handicraft, the other to instruct and entertain them. Whilst the children of 2 or 3 years only were made at intervals to sit quietly by, those of 5 or 6 were taught to knit, spin and sew; and when they were beginning to be weary of this occupation,

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\* Note 197(1): Cf. "Memoirs of J.F. Oberlin" (6th ed. 1835, London), written perhaps by Mrs. Cunningham, wife of a member of the British & Foreign School Society; Butler - "Life of Oberlin" (1886.).



Europe, or Ban de la Roche and its immediate environs, engraved in wood for the purpose, by Oberlin's direction, and mentioned names of the different places marked upon them; in addition to this she taught them to sing moral songs and hymns. Thus she varied their employments as much as possible, taking care to keep them continually occupied, and never permitting them to speak a word of patois.

With minds thus stored and trained by discipline, the children when arrived at a proper age, entered what may be called the public schools, and their masters were relieved and encouraged in their duties... by the progress they had already made. Reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, the principles of agriculture, astronomy and sacred and profane history, were regularly taught in the higher schools but although Oberlin carefully superintended the whole proceedings, he reserved for himself, almost exclusively, the religious instruction of his large family." ("Memoirs of J.F. Oberlin." pp.84-87.)

This need not be taken as exact in every detail, since it is not Oberlin's own statement. Some points are, however, noteworthy, for purposes of comparison with Owen.

(1) The attitude to religion and religious instruction was entirely different: Oberlin's "primary object ever was to ground the young people in the principles of our Christian faith, and to induce them to consider religion as the guardian and inspirer of their happiness." (Op.cit. p.93). Nothing could be further from Owen's hostility to orthodox religion. This difference had the most profound influence on the curriculum envisaged by the two men: at Ban de la Roche "the walls are covered with maps, drawings and vignettes, and texts of Scripture are written over all the doors." (Op.cit.p.122.). The curriculum there was, indeed, based on religious training, and the teaching of the children to distinguish right from wrong 'from the cradle' meant two quite different things for the two educationists.



useful art like sewing, along with natural history, moral songs or hymns, Scripture, and simple geography with the aid of special maps.

(3) Both felt that the infants school should be primarily a place of joy.\* (Butler - Op.cit.p.78).

(4) Their attitude to disciplining children was different: Oberlin felt bound to apply the fairly rigorous discipline upheld by religious convention founded on Old Testament practice: Owen's determinism, with its logical consequence of lack of full moral responsibility, debarred recourse to any repressive disciplinary measures: the main instrument was to be not fear, particularly religious fear, but persuasion of the reason.

(5) Oberlin taught 'habits of subjection' an attitude which Owen strongly deprecated.

(6) Both men were willing to provide for the teaching of a practical craft. In Oberlin's schools, this meant agriculture for the boys: but its importance came to be vastly greater than the corresponding part of Owen's course, though Oberlin developed the educational side of the work most skilfully, e.g. it might take the form of elementary botany and physics: he "made a collection of indigenous plants and procured an electrical machine and other philosophical and mathematical instruments." ("Memoirs," p.89). Even drawing was based on the study of agriculture, and books on the subject became the nucleus of a circulating library, the children being encouraged in nature-study excursions: they were allowed "to ramble in the woods, in summer, in search of plants, of which they had learned the names and properties during the winter, and to transplant them into little gardens of their own." (Op.cit. p.94.). Apart from

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\* Note 199(1): Cf. Butler - Op. cit. p.78.



school of industry: his pupils were taught that their work must contribute towards the general prosperity, e.g. before religious confirmation each had to plant two young trees. (Op.cit. p.96.). The fact that Oberlin could train his pupils with the knowledge that they would be employed in agriculture in later life, made for a simplification of his task: Owen had to train the New Lanark children for any kind of life which might fall to them in the welter of the new industry.

(7) The two men differed in their view of human nature: Oberlin is quoted (Op.cit. p.247) as saying: "If you believe in the utter depravity of human nature, in the necessity of repentance we are of the same religion." Against this may be placed Owen's faith in the almost unlimited possibilities of human nature for good.

The significant part of the comparison is that Oberlin's experiment did anticipate Owen's by about thirty years; that Owen knew nothing of Ban de la Roche and therefore owed nothing to its ideas; that there were fundamental differences in the approach of the two men to education from the difference in their attitude to religion; that to general methodology Owen had devoted more thought than had Oberlin, who concerned himself mainly with religious teaching; that both agreed that education in the infants school should not be merely a simplified form of the later stages but must have an individual quality of its own; and that Owen's practice, as a direct result of this, had broken away more from the educational conventions of his day.

If there was some doubt as to which was the first infant school - New Lanark or Ban de la Roche - there was none as to the second English infant school. Cf. Polo - "Observations Relative



mill, and Fellenberg to his farm, might be extended advantageously to the poor population of a crowded city. He had not an opportunity of visiting Robert Owen's school at New Lanark, until the ninth month (September), 1822; respecting which he says his expectations were much exceeded, and in no respect disappointed. He was fully acquainted with its principles and details, from R. Owen's own statements, and from the testimony of many friends, upon whose judgment he could fully rely, amongst these were Benjamin Smith, the late Samuel Romilly, and William Allen, who had all been at New Lanark. H. Brougham had seen Fellenberg's establishment in 1816, and given an account of it in 1818, in his evidence before the education committee appointed by parliament; in the following winter James Mill, of the India House, and himself had much discussion with R. Owen, respecting the plan, and they were immediately joined by John Smith, M.P., the Marquis of Lansdown, Zechariah Macaulay, and Thomas Babington, in the attempt to establish an Infant School in Westminster; in a few weeks they were joined by Lord Dacre, Thomas Baring, Bart., William Leake, M.P. Jos. Wilson of Spital Fields; Henry Hase, of the Bank, John Walker of Southgate, and one or two other friends. R. Owen kindly furnished them with a master, J. Buchanan, who had been superintendent of his Infant School at New Lanark, and the necessary preparations being completed, the children were received early in the year 1819; at first gratis, and after about two years trial, for weekly payments, which they have since been obliged greatly to reduce."

The Westminster School was not, according to Owen, a success: his former teacher, Buchanan and his wife, proved utterly incapable of following the system devised at New Lanark, almost every hard-won principle being sacrificed in the effort to secure discipline.



of New Lanark has been enhanced by length of time.

Further, of Buchanan's very real virtues as an individual and a teacher, other sources bear witness, notably the "Buchanan Family Records: James Buchanan and His Descendants," printed for private circulation in Cape Town, 1923, the publication of which might seem to raise some complicated problems, e.g. as to the extent of Owen's originality in planning the New Lanark programme. Owen "simply supplied a bare room without even seats, much less toys, pictures or anything else to occupy, instruct or amuse the children." (Op.cit. p.2). For one thing Owen was away from New Lanark for considerable periods, during which Buchanan must have had a free hand to carry on the work. The "Buchanan Family Records" have no doubt as to Buchanan's substantial contribution. On pp.3-4 these claims are made:-

- (a) That Buchanan initiated the simple gymnastic or rhythmic exercises like marching to the accompaniment of music.
- (b) That he invented various useful (instructive) indoors occupations.
- (c) That he introduced singing - mainly of "Watts' 'Divine and Moral Songs' and similar simple hymns."
- (d) That he made full use of object lessons.

A further point in favour of the "Records" view is the request made by Lord Brougham, Jas. Mill, John Smith, M.P., etc., to Owen to secure Buchanan's services as teacher in the Westminster Infant School (Cf. Pole - "Observations Relative to Infant Schools" 1823, p.8.). There Buchanan continued for twenty years and in 1839 was invited by the New Zealand Land Company to go to New Zealand to set up infant schools. It is unlikely that so feckless a person as Owen described would have received such high praise as



Owen's: some of the details of practice were Buchanan's.

As to his other disciple, Wilderspin, Owen has still less to say in his favour. "While this school (at Westminster) was thus so grossly mismanaged by Mrs. Buchanan and her husband (though said to be after the model of New Lanark, to which it had no resemblance) ..... Wilderspin came frequently to see James Buchanan and his wife....." ("Life." p.211.).

In 1823 the Society of Friends asked Wilderspin to set up a school in Spitalfields. Cf. Owen - "Life" (p.211.):-

"finding him (Wilderspin) very desirous and willing to learn, and much more teachable than my first master (Jas. Buchanan), having much more tact and talent for the business, I gave him general and minute instructions how to act with the children and to govern them without punishment, by affection and undeviating kindness... I..had great pleasure in teaching him, finding that no part of my instruction was disregarded and that what I recommended was faithfully followed. And he became an apt disciple of the spirit and and practice of the system, so far as the outward and material mode was concerned. But as a first step towards forming a rational character for a rational system of society, he had no powers of mind to comprehend it. And I did not attempt to advance his knowledge so as to unfit him to act under the patronage of his then supporters.

When Wilderspin had attained such proficiency in managing the infants as his imperfect acquirements admitted, he published a work explanatory of what he had accomplished, and recommended the system to the attention of the public. And in the first edition....<sup>he</sup> acknowledged his great obligation to me for my attention.... Subsequent events proved that he could not resist the temptations held out to him by the religious or those who professed to be so."

Strict limitations are put by Owen on Wilderspin's real



Wilderspin's limitations as an educationist were not widely recognised. Thus Bache (Op.cit.p.158.) wrote of the origin of infants schools: "About the same time (i.e. as Oberlin) the children of the workmen in Mr. Owen's extensive manufacturing establishments at New Lanark, were collected in schools, for the purpose of healthful recreation, and of due care and of a certain degree of intellectual instruction; and subsequently a similar establishment was commenced by Lord Brougham in Westminster. Mr. Wilderspin must, however, be considered as the author of the infant school as it now exists, having, in his connexion with a proposed asylum in another part of London, first proposed the name, defined the age, and established the true principles of infant education.\* This view in fact has been accepted without criticism by many later writers, e.g. Leitch ("Practical Educationists," 1876,) who mistake mere nomenclature for the basic ideas in infants education and infact show little acquaintance with Owen's work, as compared with Wilderspin's.\*\*

A scrutiny of Wilderspin's works does indeed tend to confirm Owen's estimate of his superficiality. Thus in his "Early Discipline or The Infant System Progressing and Successful", (1832), he is blown about from trifle to trifle, from one inconsequent story to another;\*\*\* he shows no grasp of the opinions on which Owen's or indeed any fundamental infants school must be based; he is more impressed by his own invention of the "arithmeticon", his illustrating of Scripture lessons with coloured engravings, his use of music to teach the

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\* Note 204(1): Cf. Leitch - (Op.cit., P.168): "The term 'asylum' had been the name applied to Oberlin's and Owen's institutions; but Wilderspin suggested the happier title of infant school and advised that it should be confined to children from the ages of two to seven." (Op.cit.P.168.) Cf. Wilderspin - 'Early Disc.' p3

\*\* Note 204(2): Cf. Leitch (Op.cit.p.171) on formation by Wilderspin of the London Infant School Society in 1824, which certainly could not have been attempted without Owen's previous spade-work; and Op.cit. p.172 on the germs of Stow's training system."

\*\*\* Note 204(3): E.g. conversion of drunkard by child.



order monogynia." (Op.cit.p.61). His sense of the social values in education is usually at fault: \*\*\* faced with a larger question, e.g. "what are likely to be the benefits of educating the poor who are destined to fill stations of servitude" ("System" p.2) - he has recourse to the "all-wise dispensation of Providence." (Op.cit.p.6.) and says: The education of the poor "may be demonstrated, first, as productive of the improvement and happiness of its immediate objects; and, secondly, in rendering them more disposed in after years, and better fitted, to discharge the duties of their respective stations and therefore as being likely to increase the comforts and happiness of their superiors. It is a notion as derogatory to the justice of God, as it is unjust and unphilosophical, to suppose that He ever created faculties in the mind of any human being, which He never intended should be cultivated, or that happiness or intellectual pleasures are to be confined to any particular rank or condition of life." (Op.cit. p.4.)

Almost all the ideas of any value indeed, which he puts forward are traceable to Owen, e.g. "We must use different means and study more intensely the nature of the young mind, and operate upon it more rationally, more agreeably to the laws of nature and more in agreement with a sound philosophy and the designs of the Creator..." (Op.cit.p.8). The aim of infant education must be the "education of the heart, the guidance of the infant's will, the direction and cultivation of its affections...." (Op.cit.p.11); the "development of the intellectual

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\*Note 205(1): Cf. "Early Discipline" p.9. on the carriages at his door; "System" p.36; he has "a special gift of God for a great end."

\*\*Note 205(2): Cf. Op.cit.p.8 for his explanation of the letter A "a part of a triangle with a bar across." Altogether names often seem to run away with him. Cf. "System" p.42. etc.

\*\*\*Note 205(3): Cf. Op.cit. p.87: a pupil should learn geography, because "an acquaintance with it is beneficial and some parts of it are necessary to a sound knowledge of the Scriptures."



with the child "to encourage reflection" (Op.cit.p.33); the power of example (Op.cit.p.12) - "Love is the grand agent we employ; it is the life of our system." (Op.cit.p.14.).

Usually when there is something of value, it is an echo of Owen. Where Wilderspin departs from Owen's practice, he is often at fault: thus if a child does wrong, Wilderspin would submit the offence to a jury of children "who rarely fail to take the just view of the occurrence." (Op.cit.p.30.). On the other hand, he says, "the child who does wrong is made to reap some degree of suffering directly from each of his acts of selfishness..." (Op.cit.p.35.).

School gardens, we are told, have this useful function that they teach the children "to respect private property." (Op.cit.p.12.). The alphabet, at least, should be learned in the infants school. He is, in fact, paving the way for the long period in the middle of the 19th century when the fundamentals preached by Owen were replaced by the ideals of smaller men, and the broad humane horizons of Owen's thought were narrowed by an age which intended at all costs to have some result to see for its money.

No doubt the relationship between Owen and Wilderspin was exacerbated by the long dispute over the authorship of the infants school proper. Wilderspin had begun ("On the Importance of Educating the Infant Poor," 2nd.ed.1824,p.39) by acknowledging Owen's primacy: "As far as I know, Mr. Owen is the first person with whom originated the idea of educating infant children upon an extensive scale." Later Wilderspin revised his view and persuaded himself that the ideas were his own. (Cf. "Early Discipline Illustrated," 1832,p.2, p.74). By 1834 his claims were made quite definite before the Select Committee on the State of Education in England. This claim was severely criticised by Lord Brougham in his evidence before the same Committee (pp.167-9): the first infants schools had been formed by



this is a belief in the world, was the one at Lower Green, R. Owen's and Mr. Fellenberg's, which gave the idea, having been both formed in connexion with an establishment, manufacturing or agricultural, and so necessarily confined in their application; ours being every day schools, where the children are neither fed nor in any way helped except by instruction and training."

Wilderspin's contribution to education at least throws Owen's into much clearer relief.

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There is no need to follow the course of the contest, and there is now little doubt as to the relative parts played: the seminal ideas were Owen's - even Wilderspin admits that much; Wilderspin's task was, as Brougham said, that of a missionary.

How far the progressive views of Owen and others affected contemporary thought and how far they preceded it, can be seen from the widely known work of the time, mentioned above, by Thos. Pole, M.D., "Observations on Infant Schools," (1823). By that time the seeds sown by Owen borne fruit. <sup>by Owen borne fruit.</sup> had been greatly modified. Thus we find Pole able to make various assumptions and claims which would have been impossible before the publicising of Owen's views on infants schools.

Pole wishes infants schools to be established in order to counteract widespread juvenile delinquency, caused by "defective moral and religious instruction," bad examples shown to the children, and the habit of bands of children ranging at large through the

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\* Note 207(1): Cf. Hansard - "Parliamentary Debates" July 1846, pp. 275-5; "The Times" Aug. 8, 1846; "Westminster Review" Oct. 1846 - Jan. 1847, Vol. 46, 1847, pp. 220-222. Cf. Hill Op. cit. p. 169.

\*\* Note 207(2): Cf. Select Comm. on Ed. in England and Wales, Aug. 3, 1835, pp. 13-37 - in particular note these questions and answers to them by Wilderspin:-

Q.148: "What was the origin of the infant system?"

A: "I believe the origin was at Lanark; at least the idea of assembling a number of infants together to make them happy originated there."

Q.150: "And since that it has progressed very rapidly?"

A: "Yes; but there was then no system to bring it to bear. It was merely assembling together a number of infants; and moreover Mr. Owen himself visited me often and told me he thought it time enough to begin to teach a child to read when he was seven years old."

Q.15: "Then the present system you consider to have originated in 1820"

A: "Yes."



of the poor," he says (p.11), "in the use of letters has, by the wisest and best of men, been zealously patronized and promoted, as the most efficient means, (combined with the distribution of the holy scriptures) of ameliorating the state of society over the face of the globe..."

To conduct infants schools it will be necessary to find "suitable masters and mistresses....properly trained and qualified to conduct them (Op.cit.p.9), but this "training" will not amount to much; "To conduct a school in as perfect a manner as possible, requires no talents or acquirements beyond what ordinary persons possess, and the manner of carrying on the school, may be learned in a fortnight or less..." In this respect at any rate Owen's earlier view - a faulty one - that, given kindness and patience, a teacher of infants needed little special training, was repeated by Pole.

For Pole the advantages of infant schools are "the cultivation of their morals and the preservation of their health; to which may be added the promotion of mutual affection, social harmony, personal cleanliness, becoming manners, and due subordination." (p.23.)

Here Pole is compromising as between Owen's inculcation of "mutual affection" and the popular bias towards suiting the education to the pupil's station in life. Owen's schools are based on a fundamental social plan: Pole's simply skims the surface. Pole then quotes with approval a "Circular Address by the Female Committee of management of the Bristol Infant School," which at least shows that public opinion had been awakened from its indifference:- "That the children of the poor in great towns suffer materially in their health and tempers, by being confined to close apartments, and left to the care of those who are little older than themselves, while the mother is engaged in her necessary domestic engagements, or, as is often the case, in contributing by her industry to their means of subsistence,



and are in fact prisons of the worst sort. Here the little creature, instead of enjoying its newly acquired power of locomotion, is confined in listless idleness to a bench..... But this result, injurious as it is, is commonly attained by means still more injurious; the buoyant spirits of childhood can be regulated or subdued by two ways only, - either by interesting employment and judicious treatment, or by harshness and terror; and it will not be difficult to determine which will be adopted by an ignorant woman, obliged to submit to the drudgery of keeping such a school as a means of subsistence." (Op.cit.p.23.).

How far progress is yet to be made is shown throughout Pole's book: little enough improvement has been made on 18th century practice:

(The ordinary schools) "are generally kept by very old, and more certainly by very ignorant women, for the purpose of their own scanty maintenance, who have themselves been very badly trained, and are destitute of the requisite qualifications for the task they undertake. They have scarcely an idea of keeping up subordination, but by terror..'. ...."In these miserable seminaries the children's progress in the knowledge of letters, is as slow as the growth of their unhealthy bodies....." (Op.cit.p.30.).

Pole clings - as part of his compromise with public opinion - to the prevailing view of the necessity of teaching infants letters, as against Owen's view of the minor importance of book learning, though Pole is not consistent about this. (Op.cit.p.38).<sup>\*\*</sup> Indeed Pole is often negative where Owen is positive; and at times we find him in a half-way position: "An Infant School is designed to be an asylum for very young persons, to shelter them from the influence of these pernicious scenes, to set before them better examples, to cherish mutual affection, to instil into their infant minds, by the mildest

\* Note 209(1): How limited Pole's view is can be seen from his justification of cleanliness by asking, "What respectable mistress of a family would take a dirty looking girl into her service?" (Op.cit. p.34.).

\*\* Cf. Tate - Op.cit.p.II3



the children is considered an object of great importance in these schools...." (Op.cit.p.33.)

He accepts Owen's view on the function of a playground: "a sufficient play-ground appears to be an indispensable appendage to a house intended for an Infant School." (Op.cit.p.73.).

Elsewhere there is another attempt to justify infant schools mainly on utility grounds:- "The education of very young children is a secondary consideration in the establishment of Infant schools:- The two great objects are, first, that of relieving their mothers\* from the care and attention which their children's presence would demand, and to leave them at liberty to do what may be needful at home, or to go out to daily labour in other families; and, secondly, that of taking the children from the influence of pernicious examples for the purpose of cultivating far better dispositions and habits than what we see prevalent amongst the children of the poor; nevertheless, the instruction of the children in the use of letters, is, on no account to be neglected....." (Op.cit.p.38.)

The contrast between Pole and Owen is fairly sharp:-

(1) For Owen the education of the infants means primarily the formation of so many worth-while characters rooted in a rational view of the world around them. For Pole infant education tends to be a social convenience. Pole speaks for a society which does not wish to have more trouble or expense than necessary from anti-social behaviour.

(2) Pole has next to nothing to say on the kind of education which infants should have: Owen is full of ideas about the content of their education.

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\*Note 210(1): Cf. Pole - Op.cit.p.10.



... Pole has nothing new to say about the value of interest in school.

(5) Pole will be content to have the child kept within the four walls of a school: Owen wishes something better - "gardens, orchards, fields, and woods" ("Life" p.380), and dancing, singing and joy.

The main significance of Pole's "Observations" lies perhaps in its demonstration that public opinion was tending towards the views of Owen and Pestalozzi; that much of the old popular opinion has in 1823 reached a kind of half-way house.

The very sound contemporary account given by the American, Bache, in his "Report on Education in Europe." (1839), summarises the stage of progress reached by infant schools in Europe in 1836 when his tour in Europe began. He is severely critical of the neglect by some, e.g. Germany of the very principles enunciated by Owen.\*

He has no doubt about the most advanced: "The best infant schools which I visited were decidedly those of Glasgow, Edinburgh and London." (p.159) - the schools most open to Owen's influence. How far this extended is seen in the principles of the Glasgow Infant School, (Op.cit.p.160), where the influence of the church is still

\* Note 211(1): Cf. Op.cit.pp.158-9, most useful for the student of comparative education:- "Certain governments, as those of Germany in general have not lent their influence to them (infant schools) and the clergy have, in some parts of Europe, been as warmly opposed to them as in others they have been their friends. In some of these the intellectual development of the pupils has been attempted to be carried on to their manifest injury, physically and mentally. In others, a mere mechanical and lifeless routine has been followed." (e.g. *écoles d'asile* at Paris)..... "In some of the cities of Holland, as Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and Zwolle, I saw good infant schools. In the capital of Prussia they are beginning to take permanent root. In Austria Proper, their condition is rather languishing, but in the Italian provinces they are deemed most important means of ultimately effecting a great change in the character of the people. At Venice the establishment is fostered by the government and liked by the people. At Milan is an admirable institution, growing out of that founded at Cremona, by the Abbe d'Aposti, who first introduced these schools into Italy. In Lombardy and Venice the schools are under control of a society."



and training to the practice of them."

(3) "That to render such training effectual, the nature of the individual to be educated must be studied."

(4) "Its peculiar characteristic may be considered the great stress which it lays upon the daily use of the Bible, as a means of both moral and intellectual training, and the constant preference given to such exercises as may be connected with it over all others."

The time table is summarised as: prayer, questions on Bible reading; arithmetic taught by a ball-frame and by verse memorising; moral tales from the Bible; object-lessons; and reading taught by monitors with reading-posts.

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Emulation is strictly avoided; and the playground is regarded as "the true place for moral training." (p.165).

"Punishments in or out of school are adapted to the tender age of the child and addressed to his peculiar temperament. Corporal punishment, even the mildest kind, is seldom found necessary." (Op.cit. 165.).

Bache mentions the Edinburgh Infant School Society, founded 1839, as, under Wilderspin's influence, laying more stress on intellectual education, the very thing Owen deprecated: "Some part of the time occupied in the other school in religious training is spent in this in intellectual, and the children leave it, having advanced so far as to read, spell, and parse, and having a knowledge of the elements of geography, history, and arithmetic, with a knowledge of various objects, etc." (Op.cit.p.166.).

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\*Note 211(1): Cf. Bache (Op.cit.p.163) ... "emulation .. would be pernicious."

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\*Note 211(2): Cf. Southey - "Life of Bell" III. 360 on Bell's attitude.



education further than its Glasgow model."

Bache anticipates later criticism of infant school methods<sup>\*\*</sup> influencing the practice of the primary school proper, in his mention of the Juvenile Training School of the Glasgow Education Society, started about 1832, for children 6 - 14 years of age: it inculcates good principles and good habits; minimises the use of books; uses "a lively oral method"; but gives too much time to the Bible with which it tries to correlate other subjects.<sup>\*\*\*</sup>

Of Wood's Edinburgh Sessional School, Bache notices the use of corporal punishment; emulation; and the tendency to over-intellectualised methods.<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup>

A great step forward in the development of infant schools had been the formation in 1824 of the London Infant School Society under the secretaryship of Greaves, and in the same year the setting up of a third infant school in England by Wm. Wilson, vicar of Walthamstow who published "A Manual of Instruction for Infant's Schools" (London, 1829). It need not detain us long: it shows all the old formalism; the view of innate evil in children; the necessity for punishment; learning by parrot-like, sing-song methods: obviously here the influence of monitorial obscurantism has won the day over the humane and enlightened influence of Owen and Pestalozzi.<sup>\*\*\*\*\*</sup>

\*Note 213(1): Cf. Mayo - "Practical Remarks on Infant Education."

\*\*Note 213(2): Cf. Murray & Brown-Smith - "Child Under Eight."

\*\*\*Note 213(3): Cf. Bache p.178.

\*\*\*\*Note 213(4): Cf. Bache p.190.

For reference to Prof. Franke's school at Halle for orphans, cf. Bache pp.95-114.

\*\*\*\*\*Note 213(5): Cf. "Manual"(p.11), "a Tambourine, a bell, and a common whistle" are to be used by the teacher for giving signs.

\*\*\*\*\*Note 213(6): Cf. "Manual"(p.16): (purpose is) "to correct evil dispositions, which are to be found in every individual child...."

\*\*\*\*\*Note 213(7): Cf. "Manual"(p.16): "Avoid all passion when you are punishing a child."

\*\*\*\*\*Note 213(8): Cf. "Manual"(p.10): "All must learn to speak at once... If the lesson can be reduced to verse of sufficient simplicity, then this object is attained in great measure by the whole school singing it together."



the object lesson technique, the tendency to teach and not to educate, but with here and there at any rate that keener awareness of the educational values involved which Owen had made inevitable.

By 1836, when there were 150 infant schools,<sup>\*</sup> the time was ripe for the establishing of the Home and Colonial Infant School Society: and as a leading member of the Committee, Charles Mayo, had resided for nearly three years at Yverdun, the methods of Pestalozzi were certain to have priority. In an important pamphlet - "Memoir of Pestalozzi," (1828), Mayo had picked out the parts of Pestalozzi's doctrine which - and this is their significance for us - seemed to him to be worth following: they were the aspects of infants schools which seemed soundest to Mayo. Yet it will be observed how closely Owen's views approach them: the question indeed arises how far the two influences, converging at so many points of theory, can be distinguished as they affected later educational practice. Mayo's main points, which may usefully be compared with Owen's views on the same themes, were these:

(a) Pestalozzi's school at Neuhof was: "a school of industry; as well as of instruction; arranged with a view to develop in the children this sentiment, that labour was their lot and their duty, their first and most important employment, but that intellectual pursuits were the privilege of their leisure hours." (Op.cit.p.7.)

(b) Pestalozzi had held that "Life not only presents the best opportunities for moral culture, but furnishes also the most valuable materials for intellectual developement." (Op.cit.p.14.) This might equally have been said of Owen.

(c) "Mutual instruction... in his hands was an engine very different from the machinery of the Madras system. It was founded on the simple relations and affectionate feelings of domestic life, not on the principles of political institutions, and the duties of

\* Figure given by Wilderspin : see Hill - Op.cit.p.170



metic were not the real elements of instruction, but that a simpler, more natural foundation must be sought. The basis of all sound knowledge, argued he, is the accurate observation of things acting on the outward senses." (Op.cit. p.16.)

(e) "Elementary education, as ordinarily carried on, is a mechanical inculcation of knowledge: on the Pestalozzian system it is an organic developement of the human faculties, moral, intellectual and physical." (Op.cit.p.22.)\*

(f) "Activity is the great means of developement...." (Op.cit. p.23.)

(g) "That there may be that action that leads to developement, there must be liberty." (Op.cit.p.23.)

Apart from the view of family life as the right unit of society, most of the above points had been espoused long before<sup>by</sup> Owen, who indeed touched on most of them in the following passage ("New Moral World" II.41):- "It was the observing of this idiotic proceeding among the children of the working class at New Lanark, that suggested the necessity of a new kind of infant school, and a new mode of instruction, by something that the infants could see and be easily made to understand; and that their minds, manners, spirit and conduct should be formed under the principle of unceasing kindness, directed by judgment instead of harshness, directed without knowledge of human nature....; of harshness and ignorance united, endeavouring to force infants and children to like that which is opposed to their nature, and to enable them to acquire that which they could not comprehend, and of which the teachers themselves were often equally ignorant....."

How far the influence of Owen and Pestalozzi had penetrated public thought can be deduced from the general trend seen in a well-

\* Cf. Pinloche - 'Pestalozzi and the Foundation of the Modern School', p.165: 'That alone which takes possession of man as a whole.. is educative in the true sense '.



(1) "Teaching is not training," (Op.cit. Preface p.III) - the very criticism Owen so often made against the monitorial system.

(2) "Education consists not in the mere amount of knowledge communicated, but in the due exercise of all the faculties whereby the pupil acquires the power of educating himself. It is a mould for the formation of character." (Op.cit.p.14.)

(3) "What the education is that will best enable a man to educate himself ought.. to be the paramount enquiry. Is it Instruction or is it Training, or is it both? Is it the amount of elementary knowledge communicated, or is it that exercise of mind by which the pupil acquires the power of educating himself?" (Op.cit.p.5.)

(4) Methods should depend on: (a) "picturing-out" (Op.cit.Ch.16) a modification of the Anschauungsprinzip.

(b) "the sympathy of numbers."

(5) For many children religious discourses of the kind prevailing were "the same as if spoken in an unknown tongue." (Op.cit.p.16.)

(6) The system should cultivate "the whole nature of the child, instead of the mere head, - the affections and habits as well as the intellect." (Op.cit.p.32.)

By 1836, obviously, we are approaching a full acceptance of Owen's favourite propositions.

By the time M. Arnold was writing his "Reports on Elementary Schools" from 1852, infant school methodology had found an established place. Of practice at this period Currie's "Early and Infant

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Note 216(1): Cf. Op.cit.p.27 on the process: it was a "mode of intellectual communication, conducted by a combination of questions and ellipses, analogy and familiar illustrations, and answers, chiefly simultaneous but occasionally individual, by which the pupils are naturally trained to observe, perceive, reflect, and judge, and thus to draw the lesson for themselves, and to express it to the trainer in such terms as they fully understand...."

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Note 216(2): Cf. Arnold "Reports on Elementary Schools" (1852-1882) p.69. Quoted in Appendix.



during the first or infancy period." (p.2.)

(2) "We are to view the infant school rather as falling under the family school, not the common school." (Op.cit.p.5.)

(3) "In infancy life is happiness. Nature plainly intends this early period to be one of enjoyment..." (Op.cit.p.10.)

(4) "The first six years is the critical period in moral training."  
(Op.cit.p.44.)

(5) "The basis of morality at this period (is) not the reason but the affections." (Op.cit.p.46.)

(6) "The instruction of the infant school is carried on through the medium of familiar conversation...." (Op.cit.p.68.)

(7) "The greatest obstacle to the practice of reading is... the difficulty of procuring suitable books to read from." (Op.cit.p.123.)

Most of Owen's major propositions had thus, by that time, won acceptance. This is not to say that the infants school has not developed since: it means only that Owen did play a great part in laying the foundations wisely and well.\*

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\* Note 217(1): Adamson ("Elementary Education" p ) sums up thus: "From 1824 onwards Schools for children under seven years of age have formed an integral part of English primary education, though formal schooling in the rudiments, of children so young, has lately fallen out of favour. Continental opinion, as a whole is and has been against it. Froebelian instruction, play-schools, and creches have always been different in character from the English infant school; the first names has only obtained a lukewarm welcome in the country of its birth, and where the other two are found, their purpose is economic rather than educational." There is little doubt that Continental practice has suffered by the departure. Cf. Rusk - 'Hist. of Inf. Ed.', p.134 : Owen 'anticipated by a century the present-day Nursery School movement' .



House of Commons on Education, concerning the origin of infant schools, Green writes:-

"The first Infant School in the world was first founded on 1st of Jan. 1816...." Also Green recognizes Brewster Green School and Mr. Follenberg's as being the first in England. "During these days with Mr. Follenberg, I strongly recommended to him the great advantage which he would derive from the establishment of Infant Schools to prepare the children in a proper manner for his more advanced schools, (he

## CHAPTER XII.

### APPENDIX I. - NOTES.

The correspondence was continued in New Moral World, Nov. 15, 1834, with Broughton's reply. Broughton's evidence is quoted in Smith - "Practical Education" (1878) p. 100.

Note 181(B): Address - "Short History of Education" (1878)

"In the first two decades of the 19th century Englishmen began to hear of the Swiss reformer, Pestalozzi, from Girard, Follenberg: some visited Switzerland amongst them Hall (1818) and Gurn (1819). It is doubtful whether many of the numerous visitors to Yverdon brought away any clear notion of Pestalozzi's real aims. Some thought him a simpleton who had made 'one step in advance of ordinary schools.' This was the persistent application to all forms of school employment of the doctrine that learners must make the first hand acquaintance of what which they are learning, to the refusal of such intermediation as books or the teacher's verbal description, the doctrine which Pestalozzi called Anschauung intuition. However that may be, it was this doctrine which animated and determined the instruction given in the New Moral Infant school."



House of Commons on Education, concerning the origin of infant schools, Owen wrote:-

"The first Infant School in the world was thus founded on 1st of Jan. 1816...." Also Owen repudiates Brewers Green School and Mr. Fellenberg's as being the first in Britain. "Remaining three days with Mr. Fellenberg, I strongly recommended to him the great advantage which he would derive from the establishment of Infant Schools to prepare the children in a proper manner for his more advanced schools, (he did not then receive any pupils under nine or ten years of age), and it was some years afterwards, perhaps, before he had an Infant School upon his establishment."

The correspondence was continued in New Moral World, Nov. 15, 1834, with Brougham's reply. Brougham's evidence is quoted in Reitch - "Practical Education" (1876) p.168.

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Note 191(3): Adamson - "Short History of Education" (1905.):

"In the first two decades of the 19th century Englishmen began to hear of the Swiss reformers, Pestalozzi, Pere Girard, Fellenberg: some visited Switzerland amongst them Bell (1816) and Owen (1818). It is doubtful whether many of the numerous visitors to Yverdon brought away any clear notion of Pestalozzi's real aims. Owen thought him a simpleton who had made 'one step in advance of ordinary schools.' Was this the persistent application to all forms of school employment of the doctrine that learners must make the first hand acquaintance of that which they are learning, to the refusal of such intermediaries as books or the teacher's verbal description, the doctrine which Pestalozzi called Anschauung intuition? However that may be, it was this doctrine which animated and determined the instruction given in the New Lanark Infant school."



"Pere Girard, a priest who deserves to be recorded in history as an amiable, benevolent and indefatigable friend of humanity and of youth, has the superintendence of these schools (in Fribourg)... This liberal father felt the true spirit of the Madras system and had introduced none of the fooleries, absurdities, noise and nonsense which are found in other schools or in the models from which they are chiefly taken. In none of them were the arrangements (wanting) requisite to give due scope to the principles of imitation and emulation, which promise to render his school equal to the best in England. He imbibed with eagerness the instructions which I gave and pledged himself to follow them."

Also Kgy-Shuttleworth - "Four Periods of Public Education." p.301

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Note 194(2): Cf. Leitch - "Practical Education" (1876) p.168.

"The credit of having been the first to originate an infant school is generally given to Oberlin, the pastor of Waldbach, in Alsace, who conceived the happy idea of gathering together the children of his parishioners for combined amusement and instruction, while their parents were engaged in their daily avocations....."

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Note 195(1): Cf. Pestalozzi - "How Gertrude." p 161 :

"To take human education out of the hands of blind nature, to free it from the destructive influence of her sensual side, and the power of the routine of her miserable teaching, and to put it into the hands of the noblest powers of our nature, the soul of which is faith and love."



ively. On the supposition that he had found it, every adventitious aid would be an injury.. It would be reprehensible because it would distract attention from the main point... Its laconic brevity is its essential merit. Not a useless word is heard in his school; the train of apperception is never interrupted."

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Note 196(2): Pestalozzi - "How Gertrude..." p.86:-

"At last like a *Dens ex machina*, came the thought - the means of making clear all knowledge gained by sense-impression comes from number, form, and language. It must then be an immutable law of the Art of Instruction to start from and work within this threefold principle.

1. To teach children to look upon every object that is brought before them as a unit, that is, as separated from those with which it is connected.

2. To teach them the form of every object, that is, its size and proportions.

3. As soon as possible to make them acquainted with all the words and names descriptive of objects known to them."

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Note 211(1): Cf. Bache (p.166) on Edinburgh Infant School Society.

"The necessity of combining moral with intellectual training is especially insisted on here as in the other, and the same importance is attached to physical training."

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of infant schools; more and more disposed to admit the undoubted truth, that the admission to their institutions of the older children of a family makes it incumbent upon them to make some provision for the education of the younger; to admit, further, that this education needs a separate methodised system of its own..."

(Reports on Elementary Schools." p.69).

(1853) ..... "I retain my strong opinion that when two schools only are possible, they should be not a boys' school and a girls' school, but an infants' school and an older mixed school."

(Op.cit. p.24.).

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Note 216 : Stow - Op.cit.p.73 : on 'failure' of Infant Schools :  
'they have failed intellectually because the system has been almost entirely confined to the names and external uses of things. Exercising the powers of observation ought certainly to be the first step in education ... but the infant scholar generally acquires a knowledge of these facts and objects in three or four months..... his interest in the undigested matter gradually ceases.. ... The Infant school system fails in conducting the child from the great<sup>and</sup> broad outlines of every subject and object presented to an increase of minuteness in the analysis and 'picturing out' , in which the children take a share in every step.'

Note 196(8) : Owen and Pestalozzi : One of the most serious difficulties in assessing the influence of Owen in later education is that the influence of the two men tends to fuse and indeed it becomes impossible to recognise the distinctive from the common factors : the general direction of their thinking about fundamentals is the same , and while they may differ on a specific point, for their successors to follow the one almost always means agreeing with the other also. Despite the voluminous literature



development of infant and primary education would be wider, and that thereafter Pestalozzi's disciples may have asserted his special influence : this, however, would come not to supersede Owen's influence but to confirm it .



### CHAPTER XIII.

#### EDUCATION AND SOCIOLOGY IN OWEN.



part which will be played in it by the education which will make men fully rational. <sup>\*\*\*</sup> "The elements of the science of society," he begins (p.1), include:-

"A knowledge of the principles, and their application to practice, of the laws of human nature; laws derived from demonstrable facts and which prove man to be a social being.

A knowledge of the principles and practice of the best mode of producing in abundance the most beneficial necessities and comforts for the support and enjoyment of human life.....

A knowledge of the principles and practices by which to form the new combination of circumstances for training the infant to become, at maturity, the most rational being.

A knowledge of the principles and practice by which to govern man under these new arrangements in the best manner, as a member of the great family of man.

A knowledge of the principles and practice for uniting in one general system, in due proportions, these several parts of the science of society; to effect and secure, in the best manner for all, the greatest amount of permanent benefits and enjoyments, with the fewest disadvantages." <sup>\*\*\*</sup>

In the first "element" there is the difficulty of knowing exactly what "the laws of human nature" are, but clearly they are of paramount importance for Owen, for "without this knowledge of human nature, man, "is a mere animal, governed by an imagination, arising from inexperienced instincts, which have hitherto led him through a maze of error."

\* Note 213(1): Cf. Holyoake - "History of Co-op." (1906) p.39:- "I well remember when the phrase 'social science,' was regarded as much an indication of 'something being wrong' on the part of those who used it, as mentioning Sir.C.Lyell's doctrine of the Antiquity of Man, or Darwin's Theory of Evolution, afterwards became."

\*\* Note 213(2): For a definition of "rational" cf. Mill - Ency. Brit. (1818) p.17. Quoted in Appendix.

\*\*\* Note 213(3): For Owen's tendency to world-citizenship, see "Address to All Classes of all Nations to the Governments & People of All Nations" p. XIV.



World II.-4, he repeats his "laws of human nature" as though they were axiomatic:

"That man is born now, as through all past time, helpless and ignorant, but with the germs of physical, mental and moral faculties."

....."That the germs of these faculties are combined in varied proportions in every individual, previous to birth, and without his knowledge or control."

....."That these faculties.. gradually grow and expand, and, as they increase, become the recipients of impressions, by which knowledge or experience is given to each individual." (II.4.)

....."Thus the number and kind of faculties, their qualities and combinations, the objects which produce impressions in those faculties and the capacity for receiving those impressions in the manner peculiar to the individual, are all formed for each human being; and thus is his whole character forced upon him, and formed for him, without his consent or knowledge." (II.5.)

Again, we are confronted with his view of man's character being thrust upon him without his consent or knowledge. Owen's restatement brings it no nearer the truth. This is more dubious than his faith in man obtaining a knowledge of human nature: this seems to be not much more than a knowledge of the potentialities of human nature in a controlled environment, i.e. a knowledge of what can be brought about by a right educational system, which will inculcate certain social ideals and bring them to bear on his conduct.

Nor can we agree with Owen on the evil effects of man-made laws - man constantly falsifying his nature (New Moral World.II. 5.); hiding "his natural feelings and real impressions," (II.15.); receiving a training in being unsocial: surely man's nature will be reflected, for good or evil, in the laws he makes. Owen's "laws of

\* Note 219(1): Cf. Drever - "Instinct in Man", (Ch.I.) for a discussion of the varying meanings of the term.

\*\* Note 219(2): Cf. C. Delisle Burns - "Political Ideals."



It is noticeable that Owen here does not confine the reference to a national group, though in New Moral World II.33. that is implied, but has obviously a much wider group in mind, one which is no less than the human race.

Owen's second proposition is less obscure: the means of production are available and indeed exist in superfluity: man has the material necessary for health and happiness: but he has not the knowledge how to use this material to secure the happiness of all society. Why? Because "he has hitherto been kept too ignorant to understand his own interest or to unite with his fellows to apply the abundant means around him to secure his own happiness and the happiness of his race." (II. 8.) Also he has been mistaken as to the best medium of exchange, which is not money, but labour. Men will be organized into unitary societies, each founded on agriculture, and independent of others. "All will be in the most convenient union with their fellows, to produce wealth and to distribute it in the best manner, to have their characters, from birth, well-formed....." (II.18.).... There "will be no contest or competition between the members; nor yet will there be any between the societies...." (II. 18.)

Here we have the basic principles which the Owenite communities e.g. Orbiston and New Harmony, tried to apply, with such small success.

The fourth proposition is highly important. So far, he says, no nation has understood or practised "the science of the cultivation of the human faculties, to form the possessor of them into an healthy intelligent, a reasonable, rational, good and happy being." (II.30). Indeed, in history, only the Spartan legislator, <sup>\*</sup>Lycurgus, approached this science. But better days lie ahead: "The period approaches when man shall know himself, and in consequence shall speedily learn how to form arrangements to secure a superior comparative character"

\*Note 220(1): Lycurgus' contribution to the Spartan system is as early as to be by no means definite.



\*  
a new era: "All future centuries shall be years of increasing knowledge and enjoyment." (II. 31.)

This progress will follow from the revelation of the new knowledge of character formation which is the essence of education - to know how to well form the human character; how it has been formed to acquire all the varieties of past national and local characters; how any of the human race may now be compelled to receive any similar characters; how they may be made to acquire a general character far beyond all comparison with the best ever yet formed for man; is to know the hitherto hidden science of the overwhelming influence of external circumstances over human nature...." (II. 32.).

So grandiose a conception of the function of education cannot be left to the individual: it demands national resources:

"The creation of the circumstances to well educate man, is a national work, to be directed by national wisdom and executed by national capital....."

"It is true it may be imperfectly effected by the union of individuals.....; and an approach towards something rational may be attained by such associations, provided they are sufficiently extensive, and directed by a knowledge of the science of the influence of circumstances in forming the character of man." (II. 33.)

In this respect - and by no means only in this - there is a strong resemblance to his contemporary in Germany, Fichte, whose main contribution to education perhaps lay in his statement firstly of the  
\* \*  
dependence of a nation on its system of education, and secondly of the issues involved in securing that while the individual development of the citizen should not be lost sight of, he should be educated to

Note 221(1): Cf. Marvin - "Century of Hope." the title is significant.

Note 221(2): Cf. Fichte - "Addresses to the German Nation." translated Jones and Turnbull (1922), passim.



problems for the educator - problems which Owen deals with from his own "rational" stand point, and which, indeed occupy most of his educational thought.

As steps towards executing the great design, such institutions as Oxford and Cambridge universities and the schools connected, which, imparting a knowledge of the Roman and Greek civilizations, \* give the pupils "the same ignorant and barbarous characters," must be reformed: a new foundation is called for: "all old associations of ideas must be unassociated - the fundamental errors first forced into their minds, and on which all these associations of ideas have been formed, must be rooted out to their lowest foundation - and fundamental truths, respecting human nature, the formation of individual character, and the elements of society, must be made to replace them, and to constitute the new base on which the new associations of ideas are to be formed." (II. 35.)

In practical terms, this means, says Owen:-

(a) Winning over the governments of the world.

(b) Reforming the religions of the world and uniting them in the only true religious principle, viz. "that truth is religion and religion truth." (II.36) and consisting in "undeviating practice in accordance with the now ascertained laws of nature respecting humanity, which are alone the laws of God." (II.38.)

(c) Controlling the environment by which man is surrounded from birth, e.g. selecting proper teachers, the finest of whom will deal with children from one to six years of age, "the first six years of life being the period when the foundation for good or evil can be the most easily laid." (II.40.) These teachers must have "the most accurate and extended knowledge of human nature and of society, with interminable patience and perseverance, and a love of children." (II.40.)

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\* Note 222(1): For the opposite view Cf. V. Knox - "Liberal Education" (1781) p.167 (Quoted in Appendix.)



Those who are to educate children must have pre-eminently a knowledge of (1) the principles of human nature. This of course does not mean a knowledge of educational psychology in our sense but a belief in Owen's own principles.

(2) of the elements of a rational system of society. (II. 41.).

It is made plain elsewhere, e.g. New Moral World III. 9-10, that Owen, in order to implement the favourable conditions necessary for giving the young every chance to avoid being corrupted by the old, and especially by their parents, would prefer to remove children from the age of two years from the care of their parents and place them under the surveillance of the community. The points worthy of note here are:-

(1) His distrust of the family as an educational or social unit: to him it is too often the depository of error and religious superstition. With Plato and Fichte he is prepared to sacrifice the family for the community. In so doing he has against him almost the whole weight of modern thought which is only prepared to remove children from their parents when it is satisfied that family influences will be unsatisfactory: otherwise society is content, assuming that parents do exercise a paramount educational and moral influence, to try to educate the parents to a right attitude and to make school and family life complementary.

(2) Owen clearly uses "community" advisedly: he does not refer to the "state". In this he was aware at least of the dangers, to be exemplified so strikingly in later German education, of setting the "state" as something apart from and above its citizens.

In the third part of the "New Moral World," Owen tries to correlate means with end, education with happiness, the desire for which "is universal" - - it is "the one universal instinct or cause



misery, says Owen, has been his ignorance of his nature. "Man, the tiger, and the lamb have been made what they are. They are formed to desire their individual happiness...." (III. 4.), i.e. they are neither good nor bad, and there is no rightness in judging one good, another bad.

He sets out to answer four questions:-

1. "How are we to attain happiness?"
2. "What are the general conditions necessary to insure happiness to humanity?"
3. "Are the conditions attainable?"
4. "If attainable, how are they to be obtained and secured?"

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His answer is given in thirteen conditions:

1. "The attainment of a good organization, physical, mental and moral, at birth."

2. Preservation of health.

3. A good education.

4. The promotion of the happiness of others.

5. Increasing one's knowledge.

6. Enjoyment of "good society."

7. Travelling.

8. Absence of superstitious fears.

9. Free expression of opinion.

10. Freedom of thought and action compatible with the happiness of others.

11. Development of universal charity and kindness among

12. Harmony of laws and institutions with the laws of human nature.

13. Training the desire to effect the happiness of all.

(III.V -VI.)

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\* Note 22 4(1): Cf. also "New Moral World," III.5.



by superstition, and has freedom of expression; but it does add the two difficult conditions (11) and (12): the laws must harmonise with the laws of human nature, i.e. those laws of human nature which Owen accepts; and the happiness of the community must be set before one's own happiness.

These two conditions are difficult from their very vagueness, but they are fundamental in Owen's view. Even leaving aside the first, the second raises but does not solve the difficulties of man's dual role as individual and citizen: his development will be incomplete if both sides are not satisfied; the complex part played in character development by what is now called the self-regarding sentiment is only now beginning to be understood as demanding a difficult balance of incongruous conditions, e.g. a measure of obedience to authority and a measure of individual choice; a combination of security and adventurous freedom, of discipline and independence.

For the first condition - health at birth - Owen insists on the evil influence of the unhappiness, fear, poverty, or even "disappointments of the affections" (III.8) of the parents. In the accepted social unit of the family, he has little faith: "As society is now constituted, no children can by possibility be really well educated (III. 9.

because: (a) Its fundamental errors fill the mind with error, hypocrisy and conflicting ideas and make a rational training for child impossible.

(b) Parents taught as at present cannot educate their children.

(c) The individual family, a selfish narrow, isolating unit, is unsuitable for training children rationally: in the end the child becomes "at maturity a mere localized, ignorantly selfish animal, filled with family and geographical prejudices." (III. 10.



the real difficulty is in the first part of the statement: we are taken no nearer a clear understanding of what a "rational training" is.

In III.-IV. he details the conditions necessary for keeping a person in good health. To pure air, a wholesome diet, physical exercise, Owen characteristically adds:

"The due cultivation of all the physical and mental faculties, temperate exercise of all the natural propensities at the right time, temperate occupation of mind and body, real knowledge of ourselves, society, and nature, genuine charity to others, producing serenity of mind and the esteem of others.

The first few conditions show the influence of men like the Combes, who stressed the physical conditions in education: the others are valuable psychological conditions added by Owen himself. The natural propensities, he says, e.g. the desire for food, rest, etc. must be exercised because they promote the general happiness, and anything which does that is right: "virtue consists in promoting the general permanent happiness of the human race." It is by the misguided regulations of the "ancient Priesthood of the world" that the exercise of some of man's natural propensities is looked on as wrong and he refers scathingly to the legislation on prostitution by which many women, "under the strange circumstances now prevalent in Great Britain, are used and treated more cruelly and far worse than any brutes." (III. 28.)

In his account of the value of our fellow-men's "esteem" he

\* Note 226(1): On importance of diet, see Jas. Mill 1818 Ency. Britannica, pp. 24-5, quoted in Appendix.

\*\* Note 226(2): Cf. Geo. Combe - "Education, Its Principles & Practice, ed. Jolly (1879) pp. 102-107.

\*\*\* Note 226(3): Cf. Owen. III. 34 on preventive medicine: "it is far better, far more easy and far wiser, to adopt substantive measures to prevent disease of body or mind, than to allow substantive measures to remain continually to generate causes to produce physical and mental disorders." (III. 34.)



In III.v. Owen fits education into his general scheme. It is the rationalizing of humanity, and in it his faith is unbounded:

"It is by EDUCATION... that this greatest of all changes in the condition of humanity is now to be effected, to regenerate the human race from its gross rationalities." (III.44.) How is this to be produced? "By one mode only. Not by hastily and with violence destroying these irrational arrangements of the old worn-out, ignorant, immoral, and miserable world, and treating unkindly those whose characters have been, of necessity, formed by and under these lamentable circumstances; but by gradually, peaceably, and with the kindest feelings to all, introducing a new, scientific, and very superior combination of external arrangements, which shall possess <sup>all</sup> the essence of/that is of real use to man in these old, random combinations, leaving out all their inconsistencies and absurdities, and uniting all that can be applied beneficially of the late discoveries, inventions and improvements, to form around man, from his birth, those rational and consistent external circumstances, within which, alone, man can ever be made to become a rational and consistent, and therefore an intelligent, good and happy being." (III.45.)

The social continuum must be consistent and rational before man can be the same. How clearly this belief in rationality appears in Owen! "Rational and consistent, and therefore an intelligent, good, and happy being," - - given this rational quality, all will follow!

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The new teachers must also play a rational part! Men and women, (1) "Must be trained in normal establishments, to acquire the

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\* Note 227(1): "Natural" in Owen. Cf. "New Moral World" III.48: in the process of education, "all will be done in accordance with nature."

\*\* Note 227(2): Cf. "New Moral World" IV.34, IV.45, Quoted in Appendix.



and manner of every individual and how it is to be removed for ever!  
(III.46.)

(3) Must learn "the cause of ignorance, of poverty, of division, of all uncharitableness, of crime, of all the inferior passions, and of the want of Kindness for others." (III.46.)

(4) <sup>Must</sup><sub>^</sub> learn "how to fill the mind of each pupil with pure, unadulterated charity and genuine kindness for the human race." (III.46.)

(5) <sup>Must</sup><sub>^</sub> learn the "language of truth without disguise," and "how to make it the undeviating habit with all their pupils." (III.47.)

(6) <sup>Must</sup><sub>^</sub> learn "the causes of anger, pride, vanity and conceit, so as to be able to overcome the effects."

Obviously Owen's conception of the importance of a properly selected and trained body of teachers has undergone great changes since his New Lanark days.\*

Where is this educational or rationalizing process to be carried on? In a field as wide as its aims demand:

"Not within the four walls of a bare building, in which formality predominates, and nature is outraged; but in the nursery, playground, fields, gardens, workshops, manufactures, museums, and class-rooms, in which these feelings will pervade teachers and taught, and in which the facts collected from all these sources will be concentrated, explained, discussed, made obvious for all, and shown in their direct application to practice in all the business of life." (III. 47.)

In this way, by the age of 12, the pupils will know:-

1. "The outline of human acquirements."
2. "The principles of production and distribution."
3. "The science of human character."
4. "The principles and practice of rational government."

\* Cf. Haasard II. 172, 20<sup>th</sup> June, 1828: on boys and old men teaching.



The range covered seems enormous and far exceeds Owen's own claims for the New Lanark children: with the latter his claims were more on their general character: here he stresses their knowledge more and particularly their knowledge of society: for a child of twelve to understand the principles of government and of psychology, seems too much to attempt, much less to achieve.

Now he even wishes children to learn, apart from their native language, a general language which will become "the language of truth and of the world." (III.77.)†

For much of this over-aiming we must blame his long separation from the schoolroom in practice: in the New Lanark days he was more rooted in the practicable, and his aims were less visionary.

Another difference is his emphasis on teaching children what is "useful", viz., productive of happiness in others. "The children should be trained from their earliest working age in the most useful occupations, varied as they advance in age and knowledge." (IV.40.) This he expands in his final division of their education into seven stages (V.66-74), from birth to the age of thirty: he makes a special point of classifying men, not according to birth or station, but by age.

1st. stage: From birth to the age of five years, the important things says Owen, are these: wholesome food; light, loose clothing; regular exercise; being taught to delight in promoting the happiness of their fellows; gaining a knowledge of objects which they can see and handle; having their questions answered truly; receiving neither individual punishment nor reward; freely expressing their thoughts: "they may be taught, as early as their minds can receive it, that the thoughts and feelings of others are, like their own, instincts of human nature, which they are compelled to have; and thus may acquire

† Cf. Bellers -Op.cit.p.175, for a quaint idea on language-teaching.



The two main positive parts at this stage will be that the ideas they have acquired will be true and consistent, and that the foundations for unselfish moral activity will have been laid.

2nd Stage: From five to ten years, while physical conditions, e.g. diet, will be much the same as in the 1st stage, the children will have exercises in what will be permanently useful - practice in pleasant, lighter, practical operations. Their knowledge will come from inspecting objects and from familiar conversation. In two years they will be willing and intelligent assistants in home and garden. From seven to ten years, all these lighter operations will be for pleasure and exercise, under the directions of companions aged twelve years: their sphere will be home and garden. "At ten they will be well-trained rational beings."

3rd Stage. The ten to twelve year olds will direct and assist their immediate juniors to perform all the domestic operations for their families, tending gardens and pleasure-grounds. From twelve to fifteen years, they will gain a knowledge of the principles and practice "of the more advanced useful arts of life.": they will thus learn to produce in the shortest time the greatest amount of the most valuable wealth, viz. produce from the soil, the working of mines and fisheries, etc. They will learn the arts of manufacturing food, and working up materials for clothes, buildings, machinery and tools. They must not work so long each day as to injure their physique or mental or moral powers. They will acquire more knowledge of all the sciences, having every facility for acquiring the most valuable knowledge in the shortest time (V. 70.). "This will be a period of great progress and consequent interest to this new race." It is noticeable that Owen, like his contemporaries, suffers to some extent from the detailed knowledge of adolescence which was to be gained later in the century by men like G.S. Hall ("Adolescence" Vols. I., II, 1904; "Youth," 1906.)



unite and associate together, under such wise and well-prepared arrangements, made by the most experienced in the society, as shall be the best devised to insure to the individuals uniting the greatest amount of permanent happiness....." (V. 70.). Every individual will thus be "trained and educated to have all his faculties and powers cultivated." (V. 70.). One result will be the happier relationship of married couples. In the few cases where it is necessary, a separation, "without any severance of the friendship between the parties," will be made.

They will actively produce various kinds of wealth necessary for society and will instruct members of the third stage. The efforts to produce will be aided by new mechanical and chemical devices.

5th stage: From twenty to twenty-five years of age, these men of a new mould will be the superiors and directors of each branch of production and of education. (V. 73.). They will take over the functions of present owners of factories and university professors. Beyond this age no one will require to produce or instruct except for pleasure.

6th stage: From twenty-five to thirty years they will preserve the wealth produced by the others so as to avoid all waste, distributing the wealth for use, when necessary, from the stores, and seeing that it is put to the best use for the community. For this work two hours per day should be enough. The rest of their time they will "visit various parts of their beautiful and interesting establishment" (V. 73.), devising any further improvements where necessary, and devote themselves to their favourite studies - reading, experimenting, the fine arts and the sciences, visiting other establishments, conversation, instructing, etc. This will mark the heyday of life - in health, high spirits, depth of knowledge and wisdom.



will be easier since its members will have rational dispositions.

(2) "to manage external arrangements, visit other establishments, see to public roads, transport, etc., exchange surplus produce, inventions, etc."

This class of domestic governors will form sub-committees to manage various departments. Final decision on any doubtful point will be made by the oldest member of this class.

8th stage: From forty to sixty years they will deal with visits and correspondence from other establishments; will see to transport, public roads, surplus produce, inventions, improvements, and will travel widely and exchange knowledge.

By such stages man will finally be enabled to overcome local prejudice by the only possible weapon - truth.

These later stages are of relevance to us only in so far as they point to the type of person Owen's system aims at producing, a type very like the philosopher-King in Plato's Republic. The account of the later stages is probably the least satisfactory part of the scheme: it means accepting Owen's view of an economy which can be maintained by two hours work per day by each individual, a condition from which even a century after "The New Moral World" was published we do not remotely approach attaining. It will be seen, too, that Owen yields to the same temptation as Plato - to follow the scintillating course of the most gifted (Plato's philosopher-Kings), and to forget the lower levels which alone will be within the reach of the vast artisan class in their workaday sphere.

At the same time the vista offered by Owen's educational stages cannot but be admired: its stimulating and inspiring effect must be granted, even if the difficulties in the way are recognised. These



In that, perhaps, lies its permanent value - not its practicability but its power to inspire hope in the possibilities of education as the one agency which may ennoble mankind.



CHAPTER XIII.

APPENDIX I.      NOTES.



the power of restraining them whenever they lead in a hurtful direction; that possession of himself which insures his judgment against the illusions of the passions, and enables him to pursue constantly what he deliberately approves, is indispensably requisite to enable him to produce the greatest possible quantity of happiness."

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Note 222(1): V. Knox - "Liberal Education" (1781) p.167.

"He who in his early age has been taught to study and revere the characters of the sages, heroes, statesmen and philosophers, who adorn the annals of Greece and Rome, will necessarily imbibe the most liberal notions. He will catch a portion of that generous enthusiasm....."

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Note 226(1): Jas. Mill - 1818 "Encyclopedia Britannica" pp.24-25.

".... a good diet is a necessary part of education... In the great body of the people all education is impotent without it..."

"The state of defective food and excessive labour, is the state in which we find the great bulk of mankind.... These are two, therefore, in settling the rank among the circumstances which concur in determining the degree of intellect and morality capable of being exhibited in the societies of men....: the mode of increasing to the utmost the quantity of intellect, morality, and happiness in human society will be very imperfectly understood till they obtain a new degree of consideration...."

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know how to teach them early, cleanly and good healthy physical habits; they should also have patience and kindness without limit, to enable them to make allowance for individual differences of organization."

IV.45. :- ..... "the first thing now necessary in society is a Normal School, in which to form the characters of those who are intended to train others: that this School should be based on the principles of nature for the formation of a rational character.... "

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## CHAPTER XIV.

### EDUCATION AT NEW HARMONY.



all the Presidents, except Washington, who had been dead some years; heard the experienced thoughts and conclusions upon the most important public subjects, of John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison; while with James Monroe, the president of the period, and his cabinet he was in daily, most friendly communication; as well as in frequent communication with his immediate successor, John Quincy Adams, and his cabinet, and with the judges of the Supreme Court - - both presidents and the judges attending two lectures which he delivered from the speaker's chair, in the Hall of Congress ..... He afterwards publicly explained his views in the principal cities of the United States, and visited the United States twice afterwards before 1828, and was in constant communication with the leading men of the Republic....."

It is clear now that Owen had been interested for some time in the United States as a possible ground on which he might try out a social experiment. This was indeed what happened in 1825 when Owen bought 30,000 acres of land in Indiana to be the scene of a new social venture.

On the general history of the New Harmony experiment there is no need here to spend time: it has been sufficiently dealt with in such works, besides "New Harmony Gazette" (edited R.D.Owen 1825-9) as:

G.B. Lockwood - "The New Harmony Communities" (1902)

G.J. Holyoake - "A Visit to Harmony Hall." (1844)

V. Brown - "Twelve Months in New Harmony." (1827)

W. Herbert - "A Visit to the Colony of Harmony." (1825)

What concerns us here is the nature of the educational experiment embodied in the wider social scheme: how far New Lanark practice or theory was modified in the new environment; how far it succeeded at the time and how far its influence extends



It will be seen that it cannot for a moment be regarded as that. For one thing superintendence of the educational part was in the hands not of Owen himself, but of William Maclure, a wealthy scientist and philanthropist interested in education. He had visited Pestalozzi's school and was the first to try to introduce the system into the United States. He favoured industrial education and had founded an agricultural school in Spain. He had seen the New Lanark school at work, and from that time had dated his friendship with Owen. Maclure's intention was to make New Harmony a centre of American education through the introduction of Pestalozzian ideas. To this end he brought a number of scientists like Thomas Say, Lesueur, Frost, and, most important perhaps, Joseph Neef who had actually come some years before from Pestalozzi school at Yverdon to introduce the system to the United States.

The result in fact was that the ideas behind the New Harmony system were largely those of Pestalozzi as interpreted by Maclure and Neef. While this meant some differences from the system which Owen would himself have developed, these did not appear serious enough to dissuade Owen from awaiting results with hope: from our point of view, however, it renders the New Harmony schools not strictly comparable with New Lanark. Had they been an expression of Owen's own views, they would have been more interesting for us.

Of the paramount importance attached by Owen to education in the life of New Harmony there was never any doubt: he relied on it to make the new society work. Some years of instruction in the principles of the new social system would be necessary to wean the members from the errors of the old.

There were some differences from New Lanark practice:-



(2) The New Harmony population being much more difficult to deal with than had been the simpler, ruder New Lanark population; problems of discipline both in the community and in the school required different handling. R.D. Owen described the Harmonites as "that heterogeneous collection of radicals, enthusiastic devotees to principle, honest latitudinarians, and lazy theorists, with a sprinkling of unprincipled sharpers thrown in." - a most difficult group from which to win co-operation.

(3) Owen himself was frequently absent for long periods.

(4) More attention to industrial work was necessary in the schools.

(5) The difficulties which arose daily in the general running of the community were apt to distract attention from education: the background against which the experiment took place was in striking contrast, and was chiefly remarkable for its instability and its lack of a firm tradition either social or cultural.

In the constitution of the "Preliminary Society of New Harmony," of May 1825, proposed by Owen himself, the aim of the community and the educational system were outlined:-

"The society is instituted generally to promote the happiness of the world.".... "This Preliminary Society is particularly formed to improve the character and conditions of its own members and to prepare them to become associates in independent communities, having common property.... The sole object of these communities will be to

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Note 236(1): Quoted Lockwood, p.128 and Cf. New Harmony Gazette I - 237 for criticism of Owen's over-optimism: "You are throwing off to suddenly the motives and compulsions under which you have always acted and are substituting principles which would probably not be efficient, even with the aid of early education to enforce them. You have indolence or the love of ease and the love of personal liberty operating against you, and these are among the most powerful principles of our nature. But it is not practicable to harmonize the advantages of your system with a remedy for indolence and with sufficient personal freedom."



the children will be located in the best possible manner in day schools, and will board and sleep in their parents' houses. Should any members, however, prefer placing their children in the boarding school, they must make a particular and individual engagement with the committee; but no members shall be permitted to bind themselves nor their children to the society for a longer period than one week."

In the constitution, the community was divided into six departments - (1) Agriculture, (2) Manufactures and mechanics, (3) Domestic economy, (4) Literature, science and education, (5) General economy, (6) Commerce.

One of the main statements of the educational system is quoted by Lockwood (Op.cit.p.186 ff.) from Silliman's Journal, early in 1826: preparations were being made "to organize at New Harmony a boarding school on these principles which have for some time been in operation at New Lanark, Scotland. The great or fundamental principle is never to attempt to teach children what they cannot comprehend, and to teach them in the exact ratio of their understanding, without omitting one line in the chain of ratiocination; proceeding always from the known to the unknown; from the most easy to the most difficult; practising the most extensive and accurate use of all senses; exercising, improving and perfecting all the mental and corporeal faculties by quickening combination; accelerating and carefully arranging comparison; judiciously and impartially making deductions; summing up the results free from prejudice, and cautiously avoiding the delusions of the imagination - a constant source of ignorance and error...."

"The children are to learn mechanism by machines or exact models of them; arithmetic by an instrument called the arithmometer," geometry by the trigonometre, "by which the most useful



ations of them in designs or prints; anatomy by skeletons and wax figures; geography by globes and maps, - most of the last of their own construction; hygiene or the preservation of health, by their own experience and observation of the consequences of all natural functions; they are taught the elements of writing and designing by the freedom of hand acquired by constant practice in forming all kinds of figures with a slate and pencil put in their hands when they first enter the school, on which they draw lines, dividing them into equal parts, thereby obtaining an accuracy of the eye which, joined to the constant exercise of judging of the distance of objects and their height, gives them a perfect idea of space..... They learn music... through the medium of an organ constructed for the purpose, and a sonometer, first learning the sounds and then being taught the notes, or signs of these sounds. Gymnastics they acquire by practice of all kinds of movements, always, preferably, those that may lead to utility, such as marching, climbing, the manual exercise, etc. They are taught the greatest part of these branches at the same time, never fatiguing their mind with more than an hour's attention to the same thing, changing the subject and rendering it a play by variety. The pupils learn as many languages as there are languages spoken by the boys of different nations in the school, each instructing the other in the vocabulary of his language. The boys learn at least one mechanical art - for instance, setting type and printing, and for this purpose there are printing presses in each school, by aid of which are published all their elementary books. They learn natural philosophy by the most improved and simple instruments..... never departing from the golden rule of proceeding from the most simple to the most complex, from the known to the unknown, preferring the useful to the ornamental, making at the same time the application of all the necessary arts and occupations, that their



is a fad for models with the usual claims of their power to make a difficult piece of learning simple enough for the dullest wit; there is over-labouring of one method, ("proceeding from the simple...etc."), there is vagueness in the content of instruction ("as many languages... etc."); there is over-playing of the theme of usefulness. Anything less like Owen's modest unadorned, yet convincing and earnest, statement of his practice at New Lanark could hardly be found.

Indeed it becomes obvious that the New Harmony system is only a pale, distracted reflection of its New Lanark model. There are too many obstacles in the way of concentration upon education in the unsettled conditions: there is an absence of that feeling of permanence and security which would make sustained effort worth while.

There were four types of school at New Harmony:-

(1) The infants school, conducted by Madame Neef, a pupil of Pestalozzi. The children were received at two years of age, when they became communal property, and were given instruction mostly in the form of amusing games. The principle, according to Maclure's prospectus, was "never to attempt to teach children what they cannot comprehend, and to teach them in the exact ratio of their understanding." (Quoted Lockwood, Op.cit. p.192.).

(2) The day school which gave instruction on Pestalozzian lines to the children of the Harmonites.

(3) A boarding school, a three storey brick building with accommodation for over one hundred pupils, used mainly by children from outside the area, and coming from as far as Philadelphia and New York. In October 1825 New Harmony had announced that "a limited number of children whose parents are not members of the society will be received into this institution on application to the committee. Terms: one hundred dollars per annum."

(4) An Evening school for adults.



Harmony Educational Society and a Bill was introduced to the effect that Maclure had bought near New Harmony 1,000 acres with suitable buildings, "devoted to the establishment of schools and had furnished a liberal endowment, embracing many thousands of volumes of books, with such mathematical, chemical and physical apparatus as are necessary to facilitate education, and is desirous to obtain an act of incorporation to enable him more fully to carry out his benevolent designs." (Quoted Lockwood Op.cit.p.195.). The Bill was rejected on account of the reputation of New Harmony for atheism, though it was common knowledge that regular religious services were held there.

The educational system of New Harmony seems never to have gained anything like the smooth efficiency of its proto-type. The reasons for its failure were mainly the reasons for the failure of the community as a whole. In a farewell address to the people on 26th May, 1827, Owen said:-

"And if the schools had been in operation upon the very superior plan upon which I had been led to expect they would be, so as to convince parents by ocular demonstration, of the benefits which their children would immediately derive from the system, it would have been practicable even with such materials, with the patience and perseverance which would have been applied to the subject, to have succeeded in amalgamating the whole into a community."

Any hopes he had had from the schools had been disappointed:-

"Instead of forming one well-digested arrangement, in which all the children of the community should have the benefit of the superior qualifications possessed by each professor and instructor, each principal teacher undertook the entire instruction of a certain number of pupils, by which arrangement they were prevented from associating with other pupils.

By this error in the practice, the object which I had most at



habits, dispositions and feelings, and should be brought up truly as members of one large family, without a single discordant feeling." (Quoted Lockwood Op.cit. pp.205-7.)

While the New Harmony schools at the time were not a success, their educational influence has been very great, particularly through the work of Maclure, Neef, and Frances Wright - though that influence tended naturally to reflect Pestalozzi rather than Owen.

The educational system of New Harmony had indeed never been controlled by Owen, whose energies were given to the running of the community as a whole. As a result, some of his most cherished educational principles had been ignored, and the system had actually been a jumble of pseudo-Pestalozzian doctrines modified by various innovations in method which usually took the form of a dubious mechanical aid to learning. Thus while it is agreed that New Harmony did eventually exercise considerable influence on educational theory in the United States, such influence came not from Owen but from Pestalozzi; and of responsibility for the failure of this unhappy experiment, at least as far as education was concerned, Owen can well be relieved.

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Note 241(1): Cf. Lockwood, Op.cit.p.12:- "There the doctrine of universal elementary education at public expense, without regard to sex or sect as a duty of the state, was first proclaimed in the middle west, and though the labours of Robert Dale Owen this conception of the state's duty has found expression in a common school system. Through William Maclure, Robert Owen and Joseph Neef, Pestalozzi's pupil and author of the first American works on the science of teaching, the Pestalozzian system of education, now everywhere predominant, was first successfully transplanted to this country. William Maclure's manual training school at New Harmony was the second of its kind in the United States, and through that institution and its popular publications, the idea of technical training was first widely disseminated in this country. The infant schools established at New Harmony by Robert Owen ... and conducted throughout the lifetime of the communistic experiments were the first of their kind in America. It was in the schools at New Harmony that the theory of equal educational privileges for the sexes was first put into practice. Through William Maclure, Thomas Say, Constantine Rafinesque, Charles Albert Lesueur, Gerard Troost, and the younger Owens, New Harmony became the greatest scientific centre in America and the first important scientific outpost of the west....."



CHAPTER XV.

SUMMING UP: OWEN'S PERMANENT CONTRIBUTION.



his pioneer efforts in building up a school which would prove the practicability of the ideas which he sponsored and would persuade others that something better than the prevailing mechanical system could be established; his success in moulding public opinion in the issue of child labour, by means of his published works and general propaganda - - these had been only two phases of his career which would have secured an honourable place for him in any history of education of the century.

But these were the easy parts to pick out from among his contributions, and as usually happens, they were the things that mattered least.

What had been important was not any school, whatever advance it represented on the comparatively poverty stricken establishments of the time: what did matter was the seminal pedagogic philosophy underlying the practical example: even without the latter, Owen's philosophy of education would still have made its influence felt enormously among his successors.

In what had it consisted? Firstly it had deprecated the belief in uniformity in the schools, which sought to raise obedience and passive receptiveness into major virtues, with the infant prodigy, as the end product: the aim was obedient imitation, which might lead to the forming of good habits, patience, humility, mechanical knowledge. The clear possibility that in this process there might be little or no positive character-formation worth the name was always present in Owen's mind, and an education which did not ensure right character-building was for him a contradiction in terms and worthless. The aim must be the development of rational beings who would see their good, as Owen believed, to be co-extensive with their contribution to the happiness of the community. The aim was in no doubt. But the means?



and Lancaster had both tried to fit the methods in their schools to suit an education which pinned its faith in the value of knowledge for its own sake: the results, in Owen's opinion, had been indeed ludicrous, because both end and means had been vitiated from the start. It was indeed one of Owen's great services to point out the flaws in the monitorial system. A start must be made from a different angle, said Owen: assuming that the end really is the development of rational beings who will look to the general happiness of the community for their main satisfaction, how were they to produce such beings? The answer was given in Owen's own practice at New Lanark and in the exposition given in his publications.

For one thing, he declared, the system must begin with the earliest years: an infant school system is the beginning; the all-important initiation into rational conduct.

Such infant-schools must be conducted on new lines: and in his statement of the methods and of the underlying educational principles lies Owen's greatest claim: the child must be treated with a respect and kindness about which there is nothing capricious or inconsistent; the atmosphere of the school must be exemplary in happiness; there must be no worship of names for their own sake, and knowledge must be of a finer texture founded on a first-hand knowledge of things; the character, not the memory, must be cultivated; above all a steady inculcation of the happiness-principle must be maintained from the beginning; there must be a full recognition of the major role played by environment in shaping men's characters, and for this reason the school, the child's environment, gains immensely in importance.

The change then brought about by Owen in the infant school is a change in spirit and outlook, in values and principles, - a



respects to have added the complement to Owen's work.

"In 1870 the London School Board suggested that the Kindergarten system should be introduced into their Infant Schools, and in doing so they were unconsciously the factors in bringing together the work initiated by Owen and by Froebel. The Infant School of Wilderspin was almost a dead thing, with its galleries and its mechanical prodigies, its object-lessons and its theology; now it was breathed upon by the spirit of the man who said: 'Play is the highest phase of child development, of human development at this period: for it is the spontaneous representation of the inner, from inner necessity and impulse.' 'Play is the purest, most spiritual activity of man.' 'The plays of childhood are the germinal leaves of all later life.' 'If the child is injured at this period, if the germinal leaves of the future tree of his life are marred at this time, he will only with the greatest difficulty and the utmost effort grow into strong manhood..' "

"The change from the early eighties till now is difficult to describe, because it is a growth of spirit, a gradual change of values rather than a change in outward form; there has been no definite throwing off, and no adoption of any one system or theory; but the difference between the best Infant Schools of 1880 and the best Infant Schools of today is chiefly a difference in outlook. The older schools aimed at copying a method, while the schools of today are more concerned with realising the spirit."

(Murray and Brown-Smith. Op.cit. pp.136-7)

It has been suggested that the quality of Owen's ideas and practice can only be fully realised by scrutinizing the work of his contemporaries or immediate successors. The New Lanark school, there is no doubt, was full of a vitality depending on a communal sense of the underlying values which were being worked out. But that the



have held, Wilderspin, Stow, etc. could hardly be said to have added justification to Owen, for the simple reason that so much of their work lacked the spiritual vitality of New Lanark. Was this the result of their different approach to religion and the problems of religious instruction? Partly, no doubt: since Owen's schools had been intended to be fully secular, and no compromise with popular religious sentiments had been attempted: his system had gained by that at least in consistency; while Wilderspin and the others had fallen between their wish to compromise with religious orthodoxy and their pursuit of ideas inconsistent with it, e.g. the idea that it is more important for the infant school to be a place of happiness than a place of discipline to be imposed either from an orthodox belief in hereditary evil or from a belief in the efficacy of knowledge for its own sake, whether it appealed as interesting or not.

No doubt the influence of Owen has been reduced by the spread of Pestalozzian ideas, which in many respects coincided with Owen's and which, from their greater elaboration and simple-minded concentration - it must be remembered that Owen's energies were from an early stage in his life widely diffused into various channels, some of them complementary to education, others remote from it, - were bound to have more effect in this one sphere. Nor was there the same revolutionary attitude to religion in Pestalozzi as made Owen's other ideas, however acceptable in themselves intolerable to an age which postponed a settlement of the religious question for over a hundred years. No attempt is suggested to under-rate Pestalozzi's contribution, uniquely valuable in many respects; what is suggested is that one who preached much the same educational philosophy with an equal sincerity and an equal social good-will, and who hit upon some



he was unduly influenced by contemporary practice, e.g. he saw nothing inherently wrong with the well-recognised logical method of his time of presenting material in the trite phrase from the simple to the complex, from the known to the unknown, from the concrete to the abstract; that may well be excusable; but he did not emphasize sufficiently the complementary psychological dependence of learning on the interests of the child. Again, he probably overestimated the value of presentation of objects at first hand: the method he countenanced was taken up by his successors, without much insight, and became in their hands the soul-less object-lesson technique with its unreal "correlated programmes" so dear to the eighties and nineties of last century. Again, Owen's views on the psychology of the will and of individual freedom have reduced the value of much that is sound in his general exposition of psychology: e.g. if his attitude to punishment in the school is in practice fairly sound, it is so in spite of the reasons he advances for it.

If his psychology has the same weaknesses as that of many of the contemporary associationists, it could be said at any rate that he helped to make educationists psychology-conscious, and it is no exaggeration to see a thread of connection between Owen and the child-study movement at the end of the century, though by that time the place of biology in the background of education had radically altered, and it is no doubt true to trace a more direct dependence of the movement on Rousseau.

While it is common to confine Owen's direct influence to a small group - Wilderspin, Brougham, the Combes with their "Secular

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\*Note 246(1): Cf. G.S. Hall - "Contents of Children's Minds on entering School." (1883), "Adolescence" (1904), etc.  
Earl Barnes - "Studies in Education" (1897).



thinkers of the standing of J.S. Mill and Herbert Spencer.

Apart from the latter, Owen's influence was less marked in spite of the extreme systematisation of his views, e.g. in the eight stages from childhood to full adulthood described in the "New Moral World," Part III. His influence was exerted mainly towards:

(a) The extension of educational opportunity to every social class.

(b) The abandonment of the idea of education as depending for its suitability on social distinctions - the view so widely held in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: Owen felt that education should train not for any particular occupation but for a full life as a citizen.

(c) An improvement of the methods used in teaching the basic subjects. Owen complained rightly that education had meant too little interaction with the pupil, who became an instrument to be used by others and to that extent was rendered inert. Imparting knowledge was not education, unless it stimulated mental activity.

\* Note 247(1): The extent of their debt can be seen from a glance at their main principles: (a) The exclusion of dogmatic theology. (b) Their preparation of children for the work of life by teaching a wide range of subjects. (c) The importance attached to training all the faculties, not merely the memory. (d) The fostering of a scientific habit of mind. (e) Less use of books. (f) The representation of all the subjects taught as expressions of the moral government of the universe by God. (g) Their aiming at "real," not linguistic, education. (h) They were intended for all classes except the highest.

\*\* Note 247(2): Cf. Holyoake - "History of Co-op." p.35: Owen "instigated" Fellenberg and "the self-supporting Pauper Colonies of Hollan were owing to Owen's suggestion."

\*\*\* Note 247(3): Warren, member of New Harmony and founder of the villa of "Modern Times" on Long Island, 1851, author of "Peaceful Revolution," "Equitable Commerce," etc.

\*\*\*\* Note 247(4): Cf. McCallister - "Growth of Freedom in Education" p.16. "The same ideas of method, joined with a rather dogmatic prescription of science, run through Herbert Spencer's pleas for a non-coercive education and for the recognition of these rights of childhood which John Stuart Mill rules out of court in his famous "Essay on Liberty." The views of individuality and freedom there sketched show the influence of the communistic schemes of education carried on for a time by Robert Owen and Josiah Warren. Their works may be regarded as the forerunners of many sober efforts to bring the rudiments of a liberal culture to the lives of the masses caught up in the maelstrom of the industrial revolution. Cf. Mill - "Autobiography" (p.179) (Columbia Press) for reference to Warren's "Sovereignty of the Individual." Noyes - "American Socialism" Ch.3.



between teacher and pupil: the argument for better-trained teachers was the same as that which would remove the child from the influence of his parents. Owen did not however press the latter plan, though he favoured it.

(f) An insistence on the dependence of the quality of a community on the type of education it used: civic morality would depend on the development of a moral sense by the schools: on the other hand, the individual must be educated to take his full part as a rational being in the life of his community.

(g) The view that with few limiting conditions, education is all-powerful in setting the plane on which human beings live.

(h) A belief in the frequently close relationship of training by useful work with the development of self-respect or morality.

(i) His conception that the aim of education must be interpreted in terms of the aim of life. The fact that he formed an incomplete view of the broader aim is hardly so significant as the implication that education must lead to a substitution of an integrating end of conduct for mere day-to-day, movement-to-movement impulse or caprice; that education should concern itself less with the minutiae of knowledge getting and more with the building of concepts capable of a spread over vast fields of intellectual and moral experience.

If Owen thought at any time that he had solved the eternal questions that face the educationist, he has been proved over-optimistic. He did feel that he had been able to place education in its just place in the social context; he was sure his psychology was not far wrong; he was confident of his faith in environment as playing a major rôle; he had spent much thought on the practical methods to be used, many of them suggestive and fruitful.

Did Owen reach down to the ultimate depths of educational



common-sense, and one which takes account of some of the ultimate educational questions - how far has the development of human potentialities for good a claim on society; what is to be regarded as the type of being which this society should aim at handing on to the next generation; what is our responsibility in framing a scheme to embody our conception of the summum bonum; what is the good life and how are we to bring it within the reach of our children? With all these questions Owen does indeed wrestle, but hardly, it must be said, in a way to satisfy every side, especially the aesthetic side of human nature. We are confronted with an insistence on the fundamental value of <sup>a</sup>/happiness principle which cannot be justified on philosophic grounds and has long left the stage in dishonour; we are asked to accept a theory of determinism which leaves little place for spontaneous self-activity; an imperfect and inconclusive theory of heredity is offered, which, the data available in 1820 might have rendered plausible enough, but which has been made obsolete by the long line of experimental biologists in the last hundred years; we are given a vista of the possible heights to which his fully developed rational beings may attain, but it leaves us with the sense that these beings are bloodless and scarcely human in their uniformity.

It may well seem that an adequate answer to the great questions in education must be sought only from the philosophers. On the other hand how difficult it has always been left by them - by Plato, Kant, Locke, even by Herbart and Froebel, and now by Dewey - to fill in the workaday details and produce a system which is not suspended in mid air by its theoretical difficulties or by the absence of the gifted teachers who might approach the realization of its theory in the school.



will which shines through all his work to ennoble and inspire men with some of the faith in education which he upheld, and in the kindly and salutary influence he has exerted in establishing the infant school as having a special contribution, demanding special methods and special gifts, etc. to offer to the community at large. His value will depend also on his proposition that only if an educational system finds a fitting place in society at large - and this society for Owen meant ultimately the whole of humanity - and if society offers a fitting place to education, will the great problems be adequately met.

Again, it may well be claimed that he deserves recognition for rendering his society more self-conscious about itself and its educational system, compelling it to look back but more especially to look forward, and to ask itself what should be the next step; what ought the next generation to be trained to become; should education continue to be a preparation for another life or for this; are the young to be trained to assume their place in this society or in a larger society beyond; <sup>\*</sup> must it provide for growth beyond the type common in contemporary society; how best is that vital relationship to truth on which the value of all knowledge depends, to be attained?

With his insistence on the power of environment, Owen made it clear that there was no room for complacency: that society had been seriously at fault in failing to offer to the children "of the lower orders" an environment which would give potential growth a fair chance, and in failing fully to develop a will towards good - a fault of which even our own generation is found guilty by Hocking in his valuable "Human Nature and Its Remaking" (p.259). "And the first peril of education is not that the child's will will be overborne, but

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\* Note 250(1): For the limited view, cf. the remark attributed to Kaiser Wilhelm II in the nineties: "It is our duty to educate your men to become young Germans, and not young Greeks or Romans."



casual, spiritless, uninterested. If I were to name the chief defect of contemporary education, it would be not that it turns out persons who believe and behave as their fathers did - it does not: but that it produces so many stunted wills, wills prematurely grey and incapable of greatness, not because of lack of endowment, but because they have never been searchingly exposed to what is noble, generous and faith-provoking."

"What is noble, generous, faith-provoking?" - perhaps, if we add "happy" this is as good a summary as any of Owen's conception of the environment to which the school should approximate: the faith - for good or evil - which it will produce will be a faith in contributing to the sum of human happiness; and incomplete though that be, it must be respected as a genuine attempt to avoid leaving the educational vacuum, or negation which may undermine an educational system.\* To this extent then, Owen thought it was of more value in the schools to educe a belief in the happiness-principle which he himself upheld than to continue the listless mechanical instruction of the time. Here also his view was incomplete: he did not see the importance of creating conditions which would provoke exploratory thought, and scrutiny of fundamental issues such as becomes more frequent from adolescence onwards: he did not realise that there is a vital difference between reaching a solution independently and receiving a solution or even a tradition ready-made; and that only by original thought among the disciples can any philosophic system survive after its founder.

"Platonism produces no Plato: Christianity yields no other Jesus nor Paul." (Hocking. Op.cit.p.277).

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\*Note 251(1): Cf. Hocking, Op.cit.pp.260-1.



are based, e.g. on rational social living together, says Owen, there will be a prejudice in favour of reason and of social life produced in the minds of the pupils: the ideals represented by the school life will be perpetuated and strengthened in each generation of pupils, if the latter find in them sufficient vitality to present themselves as dynamic conduct-controls. For that reason, Owen holds, the greatest care must be taken so to shape the school environment that it will represent faithfully the kind of life which it is hoped will be enacted by the adult community. \* That life should be, says Owen, an integration of the personal and the social will. His idea runs close to that of a modern: \*\* "It (the all-benevolent will) is the characteristic product of a personal life in which all interests are subordinated to the love of the aggregate of persons, a will resulting from the catalytic action of universal benevolence within the chemism of that complexus of appetites and desires that is rooted in one organism. This fact justifies those reformers who insist that there can be no hope of social amelioration save through regenerating the hearts and wills of individuals.... It is not a social will but it is a personal will socially directed and socially multiplied...."

The same philosopher too, seems to carry forward the idea of happiness which Owen reached after but left inchoate and in a condition peculiarly open to attack: "Does the supreme good consist in utility and pleasure or in some deeper well-being, such as virtue, self perfection or saintliness? Does the supreme good appertain to the human individual, or to some greater social or cosmic whole? These dilemmas disappear, and the demands which underlie them are met, if the supreme

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\* Note 252(1): Cf. Bagley - "Educational Values." Ch.XV.

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\*\* Note 252(2): R.B. Perry - "General Theory of Value." p.685.



inclusive satisfaction of all individuals. In the conception of a happiness of all which is the condition of the happiness of each, there is standing-ground alike for Stoics and Epicureans, for Kantians and Utilitarians, for Christians and Pagans. The highest good is not sheer satisfaction of maximum intensity, but, as Plato taught, an order of satisfaction whose form is prescribed by reason. The highest happiness is not that which is most comfortable and easy of attainment, but as Christianity has taught, that tragic happiness which is at once the privilege and the penalty of love." \*

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\* Note 253(1): Hocking. Op.cit.p.637.



CHAPTER XV.

APPENDIX.

BOOKS, ETC. CONSULTED.



- G. Compayré, - "Histoire Critique des Doctrines de l'Education en France." (1885), I - II.
- S.S. Laurie - "Educational Opinion from Renaissance." (1903)
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- "British History in 19th Century."
- M.D. George - "London Life in 18th Century." (1925)
- Cambridge Modern History, Vol.X.
- M. Beer - "History of British Socialism" (1919) Vol.I.
- G. Wallas - "Life of Francis Place."
- Cullen - "Adventures in Socialism." (1910)
- W. Boyd - "History of Western Education." (1932)  
- "From Locke to Montessori." (1914)  
- "Educational Theory of J.J. Rousseau." (1912)
- Dobbs - "Education and Social Movements 1700-1850." (1919)
- Adamson - "An Outline of English Education 1789-1902." (1925)
- Binn - "A Century of Education." (1908)
- E.S. Mack - "Public Schools & British Opinion 1760-1860" (1943)
- Archer - "Secondary Education in 19th Century." (1921)
- G.D.H. Cole - "Life of William Cobbett."
- H. Wodehouse - "Short Survey of History of Education." (1924)
- F. Smith - "History of English Elementary Education 1760-1902"
- Wright - "History of Education in Scotland and Parish Schools." (1898)
- Birchenough - "History of Elementary Education in England and Wales." (1914)
- H. Martineau - "Biographical Sketches." (1869)
- De Montmorency - "State Intervention in English Education" (1902)
- M.G. Jones - "Charity School Movement." (1938)
- Memoirs of J.F. Oberlin.
- J.E. Butler - "Life of J.F. Oberlin." (1886)
- R.D. Roberts (ed.) - "Education in 19th century" (1901)
- Halévy - "Growth of Philosophic Radicalism." (1928)



A. Aspinall - "Lord Brougham and the Whig Party."

Rowntree  
and Binns - "History of Adult Education Movement."

Barnard - "History of English Education."

Paulsen - "German Education, Past and Present." (1908)

L. Stephen - "English Utilitarians." (1900) I - III.

L. Stephen - (ed.) - Dictionary of National Biography.

Allen and  
McClure - "Two Hundred Years 1698-1898 : The History of  
S.P.C.K." (1898)

Gregory - "Robert Raikes. A History of the Origin of Sunday  
Schools." (1880)

Meeklejohn - "An Old Educational Reformer, Dr. Andrew Bell." (1881)

Salmon - "Joseph Lancaster." (1904)

D. Evans - "The Sunday Schools of Wales." (1883)

David Jones - "Life and Times of Griffith Jones of Llanddowror."  
(1902)

Salmon - "The Welsh Circulating Schools." (In Educational  
Record, 1900)

~~A. Bell - "Experiment in Education."~~

#### Owen's Publications:-

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(published anonymously, 1812.)

"A New View of Society or Essays on the Principle of the  
Formation of Human Character and the Application of the  
Principles to Practice." (1813-1818.)

"An Address to the Inhabitants of New Lanark." (1816)

"Observations on the Effects of the Manufacturing System." (1815)

"On the Employment of Children in Manufactories." (1818)

"To the British Master Manufacturers." (1818)

"An Address to the Working Classes." (1819)



"The Emancipation of Mankind." (1817)

"Six Lectures delivered in Manchester previously to the Discussion between Mr. Robert Owen and the Rev. J. H. Roebuck, and an Address delivered at the Annual Congress of the Association of All Classes of All Nations," by Robert Owen. (Manchester, 1837).

"Report to the County of Lanark." (1820)

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"Robert Owen and Alex. Campbell: Debate on Evidences of Christianity." (1839)

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"Signs of the Times or the approach of the millennium."

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Davies - "Life of Owen."



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Jones - "Life of Owen."

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G.B. Lockwood - "New Harmony Movement." (1905)

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G.J. Holyoake - "Visit to Harmony Hall." (1844)

R.D. Owen - "Threading My Way." (1874)

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T. Tate - "Philosophy of Education." (1857)

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W. Newnham - "Principles of Physical, Intellectual, Moral and Religious Education." (London, 1827.) Vols. I, 2

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A. Bell - "An Experiment in Education made at the Male Asylum of Madras." (1797)

M. Helvetius - "Treatise on Man, His Intellectual Faculties and his Education." (1810)

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C. Mayo - "Memoir of Pestalozzi." (1828)

Stow - "Training System." (1854) (10th ed.)  
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Currie - "Early and Infant School Education." (1857)



- M. Arnold - "Reports on Elementary Schools, 1852-82" (1908)
- V. Knox - "Liberal Education." (1781)
- J. Locke - "Some Thoughts Concerning Education."  
(ed. Daniel) (1880)
- J. Foster - "Essays on the Evils of Popular Ignorance." (1847)  
(First published in 1821.)
- "Statistical Account of Lanarkshire." (1841)
- "A History of Lanark." (1823)
- Donaldson - "Lectures on Education."
- G. Combe - "Education - Its Principles and Practice."  
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- Abram Combe - "Metaphorical Sketching the Old and New Systems  
with Opinions on Interesting Subjects." (1823)
- M. & R. L. Edgeworth - "Practical Education." (1811) (3rd ed.) I, II.
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- Pillans - "Principles of Elementary Teaching."  
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(1799)



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- Sir. Thos. Bernard - "Of the Education of the Poor." (1809)  
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